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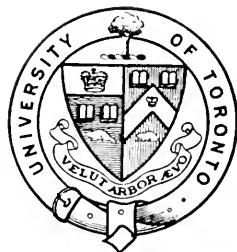
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THE JEWISH LITERARY ANNUAL

1905.

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
RASHI
ON THE
EIGHT HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH.

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PREFACE.

THE JEWISH LITERARY ANNUAL for 1905 is somewhat smaller in size than the similar volume of the previous year, as it has not been found possible to continue the bibliography which formed one of the principal features of last year's Annual. The practice has been continued of publishing a selection of the papers read before constituent societies, and a *précis* of reports of the societies. A copy of the Annual is this year presented to each member of every constituent society.

June, 1905.

THE JEWISH LITERARY ANNUAL

ANCLO-JEWISH LITERARY ABILITY

ADDRESS BY LUCIEN WOLF,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY
SOCIETIES, 20th OF SEPTEMBER, 1904.

THE opening of a new session of our Literary Societies is pre-eminently an occasion for saying *Shehechionu*. We have very good reason for congratulating ourselves—and not only ourselves, but also the community at large—on having been “kept in life” for another season. The fact has a moral significance in the history of the British Jews, which appeals to me with peculiar force as a humble student of our communal past. For this reason I have thought that I could not do better this evening than devote the few words I have to address to you to an endeavour to interpret it.

A friend of the Abbé Siéyès once asked him what he had done during the Reign of Terror. “Ce que j’ai fait?” tartly answered the ex-Consul. “J’ai vécu.” We might very well return a similar answer to anyone who asked us to account for our time during the last three years. We have lived, and in that single achievement we have done wonders, for we have solved the most difficult problem

by which organisations of our kind have hitherto been beset in this country—that of not perishing.

Until a few years ago, it was the most difficult thing in the world to establish a literary society in the Anglo-Jewish community, and the few which were brought into life proved their exotic nature by speedily sickening and dying. You will understand that I am speaking now not of the purely theological societies which were exclusively manned by immigrant Rabbis, but of those secular organisations which appealed essentially to native Jews, and which, whether working in the domain of Jewish science, or in that of general culture, or in both, afford an infallible criterion by which the intellectual condition of our community, at their respective periods, may be judged. Of such societies we have scarcely any trace during the first two centuries of our post-Resettlement history. It was, in point of fact, not until 1830 that the first was started. This was the Society for the Cultivation of the Hebrew Language and Literature, founded by David de Sola, Michael Josephs, Morris Raphall, Selig Newman, Dr. Van Oven, and Arthur Lumley Davids. It lasted only two years. We can scarcely be surprised at this when we learn that, with one or two exceptions, all its organisers were foreign scholars. If men of literary taste were to be found in the native community only in the proportion of one or two to eight or ten of the foreign contingent—and even this was very doubtful—then the prospects of the Society were certainly desperate from the beginning. Its circumstances, however, were not without a ray of hope. The active interest taken in it by the brilliant young Orientalist, Arthur Lumley Davids, and the paper he read before it on "The Philosophy of the Jews," showed that the seed of better things had already been sown in the rising generation. Twelve years, however, elapsed before an attempt was made to found another literary society, and still the

seed had not perceptibly germinated. The Association for the Promotion of Jewish Literature, founded in 1842, was again the exclusive creation of foreigners—David de Sola, Israel Lindenthal, and Abraham Benisch—and it was even shorter-lived than its predecessor. Two years later an important experiment was made in another direction. Learned societies were evidently above the heads of the rank and file of the community, and it was clear that if any good was to be done the instruments employed should be of a more popular kind. Accordingly, under the name of the Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institution, an attempt was made to found a sort of Jewish Birkbeck Institute. It was ambitiously conceived and admirably carried out. It had an excellent library and reading rooms, a programme of studies and debates of the widest and most varied scope, and courses of lectures of the most attractive kind. Thackeray more than once entertained the members with readings and lectures, and Benjamin Disraeli, who was then writing his famous "Young England" Trilogy, spontaneously offered to address the members, but his proposal was declined. Nevertheless, the Institute carried on only a languishing existence, and in 1866 it had to close its doors for want of members. This was the last attempt to establish a literary society on a wide popular basis previously to the revival of which we here to-night are the happy testimonies. During the same period, and even later, a few publication societies were started, but they were not more fortunate than their social analogues. Charlotte Montefiore and David de Sola tried popular literature in the shape of the "Cheap Jewish Library," but, although the pen of Grace Aguilar was enlisted in the work, the apathy of the community proved insurmountable. More learned societies were of course forlorn hopes, and the only effect of Hirschel Filipowski's Hebrew Antiquarian Society, which was started in 1851,

and of Mr. Frederic Mocatta's Society of Hebrew Literature, which came into an existence of delusive promise in 1870, was to endow Anglo-Jewish Literature with a great many admirable books which are only in a very restricted sense the legitimate possession of the Anglo-Jewish community.

At first sight this dismal record of literary failures is calculated to make one jump to the conclusion that the British Jews as a body had by some freak of anthropology lost every trace of the intense intellectuality and the pronounced literary instinct which, throughout their history, has been the peculiar heritage of the Jewish people. This, indeed, was the view of Jost, who gave uncomplimentary expression to it in a paragraph of his history which long rankled in the self-esteem of English Jews. As a matter of fact, no delusion could be more erroneous. It rests upon a superficial and indiscriminating view of our social development, and the application to it of foreign tests which make no allowances for the peculiar circumstances of our history. It is not true to say that the intellectual power and literary instinct of the British born Jew are inferior to those of the typical foreign Hebrew. On the contrary, if we apply to this problem the most approved sociological tests, we shall find that the Anglo-Jewish body stands far above the average of Jewry in these respects.

Some years ago, Mr. Joseph Jacobs instituted a painstaking enquiry into the "Distribution of Jewish Ability" during the century 1785-1885, classifying it under certain heads, and comparing these heads with the similar categories among non-Jews. Let us examine the first three of these categories, viz., Illustrious, Eminent, and Distinguished Jews, and see what proportion of each is supplied by Jews of English birth. In the first category Mr. Jacobs found four Jews, being two and a half above the average for the whole of Europe. Of these four, one

—Lord Beaconsfield—falls to England. Thus, although the average number of Jews in England during the period covered by this investigation was less than 100th of the whole Jewish population of the world, and the native-born community represented an even smaller proportion, they had produced one-quarter of the illustrious men of the whole of Jewry. Of Eminent Jews Mr. Jacobs enumerated twenty-five. Here the proportion of English Jews was smaller, but it was still disproportionately high. Out of the twenty-five, four—Sir George Jessel, Sir Francis Palgrave, David Ricardo, and Professor Sylvester—were of British birth. Thus a fraction under one-sixth of the second category falls to a community whose just share is less than one hundredth. In the third class—Distinguished Jews—the proportion is almost the same, although the general Jewish average falls below that of non-Jews. Mr. Jacobs catalogued ninety-nine Distinguished Jews. I have ventured to add two English names which could only have been omitted through an oversight on the part of Mr. Jacobs—those of John Adolphus, the historian and lawyer, and Ralph Bernal, the politician and author—thus bringing up the total to 101. Of these Distinguished Jews, fifteen were English—Isaac D'Israeli, Grace Aguilar, Ralph Bernal, John Adolphus, Benjamin Gompertz (the mathematician), Sir Francis Goldsmid (the politician and lawyer), Joshua Basevi (the architect), Joseph Wolff (the traveller), Isaac Nathan, John Braham, Charles Salaman, Henry Russell, and Frederick Cowen (all five musicians), and Abraham Solomon and Solomon Hart (artists). The proportion should really be much higher, because, as I am dealing specially with literature, science and art, I have limited myself to the professions, whereas Mr. Jacobs added manifestations of Jewish ability in practical life. Still this limitation will amply suit my purpose, for it yields, on an average population of 60,000, a proportion of

a little more than 240 Distinguished Jews per million, or seven more than the British non-Jewish average, and 141 more than the average for the whole of Jewry. These calculations are, of course, somewhat rough, but when every deduction has been made—and I believe the corrections will rather be in the opposite direction—my contention will still be amply justified, and it will be found that in literary ability the average Jew born in England has been far superior to his foreign brethren in race.

How then can we account for the extraordinary intellectual apathy in the community which seems to be indicated by the historical sketch I have given you of the earlier movement for the establishment of Anglo-Jewish Literary Societies? The explanation is by no means obscure. If you will extract from the Bibliography compiled by Mr. Jacobs and myself nearly twenty years ago—I quote it because there is no other—all the names of English-born Jews, and classify them under three heads, the mystery will be at once solved. The heads I propose to you are—in the first place, Jewish Writers on Jewish Topics; secondly, Writers on General Topics who have remained more or less Jews; and thirdly, Writers on General Topics who have become more or less Christian. In the first category I place practically all the writers without reference to their merit in order to obtain the strongest possible case for Jewish literary activity within the community. In the other two categories I confine myself to the Distinguished, the Eminent, and the Illustrious. I leave out of account, of course, the generations whose chief literary activity belongs to a date subsequent to the Reform movement and to our Political emancipation, as these two events constituted a complete revolution in the circumstances of the community.

Now, in the first category we find fourteen names—no more. For representatives of Hebrew scholarship and

theology we have Abraham Mendes Belisario, described as an author by Neubauer on the strength of a note in a MS. in the Beth Hamedrash ; David Levi, a translator of the Prayer Book, and author of *Lingua Sacra* and of a number of polemical works ; Levy Alexander, a writer on ritual, and a racy communal controversialist ; Moses Samuel, one of the editors of *Kos Yeshuoth* ; Abigail Lindo, author of a Hebrew Lexicon ; and Arthur Lumley Davids, the first English dabbler in Jewish science. Elias Lindo is our only historian. Moses Samuels wrote a very presentable life of Moses Mendelssohn, and translated his "Jerusalem." Moses Mocatta executed an excellent translation of *Chizuk Emunah*. Grace Aguilar was our only Jewish novelist, and Emma Henry our only poetess. To this list we may add three Jewish journalists—Jacob Franklin, Moses Angel, and Michael Henry—and our list is exhausted. To say that this list represents a very poor literary output for a period of two hundred years is to speak mildly, for only two names—Grace Aguilar and Elias Lindo—rise perceptibly above mediocrity. Not one reaches the level of distinction in Jewish literature, for even Grace Aguilar is in her Jewish stories far inferior to her non-Jewish work.

When we turn to our other two categories we meet with a very different state of affairs. The list of writers on general topics who have remained more or less Jews number eighteen, and the list of similar writers who have become more or less Christian, twenty. All are at least distinguished. The first list consists of—I give the names in their chronological order :—Emanuel Mendez da Costa, F.R.S., naturalist and librarian of the Royal Society ; Israel Lyons, mathematician and botanist ; Joshua Montefiore, traveller and journalist ; Benjamin Gompertz, mathematician ; Levy Emanuel Cohen, journalist ; Solomon Hart, R.A., Francis Goldsmid, politician and lawyer ; Benjamin Lumley, musician and novelist ; Jacob Samuda

engineer; Arthur Lumley Davids, Orientalist; Charles Salaman, musician; Professor Sylvester, the greatest pure mathematician of his day; Samuel Phillips, journalist; Grace Aguilar, novelist; Jacob Waley, lawyer; Abraham Solomon, artist; Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls; and Ellis Davidson, technological writer. The second list is as follows:—Moses Mendez, the banker poet; Isaac and Ralph Schomberg, both distinguished physicians and poets; Lewis Goldsmith, politician and journalist; Isaac D'Israeli, essayist, historian, and novelist; John Adolphus, lawyer and historian; John Furtado, musician; David Ricardo, the greatest English economist after Adam Smith; Isaac Gompertz, poet; John Braham, musical composer; Sir Francis Palgrave, the first of our English scientific historians; Ralph Bernal, politician and author; Isaac Nathan, musical composer; Joshua Basevi, architect; Joseph Wolff, traveller; Morris Barnett, dramatist; John Barnett, musical composer; Lord Beaconsfield, statesman and novelist; Nathan Davis, explorer; Nathaniel Isaacs, traveller. It will be noted that these two lists differ in one very striking particular. In the same way as the average level of ability in List II. is far higher than in List I., it is still higher in List III. than in List II. While List II. contains no illustrious name, and only two eminent, List III. contains the one illustrious Anglo-Jewish name, and the remaining two eminent names, while all the others are almost without exception more distinguished than the distinguished names in List II.

We now have the explanation of the low order of intellectual ability within the narrower confines of the Anglo-Jewish community. The whole intellectuality which rose above mediocrity ran in non-Jewish channels while the best minds left Judaism altogether. In these circumstances it would have been strange indeed if the state of specifically Jewish culture in this country had not compared

very unfavourably with that of Continental communities, where, owing to different social circumstances, practically all the local intellectuality was forced into communal channels.

So far, I am afraid, I have told you nothing with which you are not already familiar. I have merely expressed in the language of particulars a generalisation which most of you had already formed for yourselves. There is, however, a further question, which perhaps is not so clear to you, and which must now be briefly considered. How is it that all the best minds in our community betook themselves with so extraordinary a unanimity to fields of non-Jewish activity? It is not, be it observed, a mere question of the superior opportunities offered by the waters of baptism, for except where actual office was involved Judaism was no bar to the appreciation and reward of literary or artistic merit. This is shown by the fact that our list of distinguished men is fairly evenly divided between Judaism and Christianity. Moreover, the proportion of illustrious, eminent and distinguished apostates on the Continent, where Christianity was the fountain of all honour, was very much lower than in this country. The explanation is that from the very beginning the social circumstances and condition of our community differed widely from those of the Continental communities.

This difference was two-fold. In the first place the community was a small one during the whole of the two hundred years to which this enquiry relates, and in the second place—and this is the most important difference, for it is peculiar to the Anglo-Jewish community—the English Jews enjoyed social emancipation almost from the moment that their resettlement took place. They were not necessarily isolated in any Ghetto, real or implied. Class for class they mixed freely with their fellow countrymen, and in all the essentials of social life became rapidly assimilated with

them. The second difference reacted on the first. Even in their normal state small religious communities must provide but an unfavourable environment for the literary mind. They are necessarily absorbed by questions of limited interest, they are the favourite refuge of narrow views, and their very smallness facilitates ecclesiastical domination. Against all this the literary mind rebels. Moreover, in small communities, the lettered class can never be large and varied enough to satisfy the need of literary minds for that kindred intercourse which is one of the main conditions of literary production. On the Continent these perplexities solved themselves. The *révolté* was beset by the most formidable difficulties. He had linguistic and other social stumbling-blocks to overcome if he threw himself on the great world, as in the case of Mendelssohn and Maimon, and if he was intent on social advancement he had to confront the wrench of baptism. The result was that either he suffered in *Cherem*, and curbed his tongue and pen, or, like Krochmal, leavened the ignorance of the Ghetto with a mildly sceptical literature. In England, on the other hand, there was no linguistic or social difficulty, and not necessarily any wrench of baptism. The literary mind simply turned its back on what was not congenial to it, found its kindred spirits outside the community, drifted into indifferentism, and brought up its children as Christians.

This danger was perceived at an early stage of our history, and in order to grapple with it the Synagogue authorities resorted to the favourite expedient of intensifying the source of the mischief. Secular culture was discouraged and freedom of thought pitilessly hunted down. The normal narrowness of view became still further narrowed, and an attempt was made to make a Ghetto from the inside by prohibiting the establishment of Synagogues beyond a small and strictly defined radius. As late as 1803, *Ladino*

was the medium of instruction in the Sephardi communal schools, and it was not until 1819 that the first English sermon was preached in an English Synagogue, and Bevis Marks held out against the innovation until 1831. This policy not only still further alienated all that was most cultured in the community, but it almost crushed the life out of the mentally impoverished residuum which meekly acknowledged the sway of the Rabbinate. Even Orthodoxy itself did not flourish. In 1790 an anonymous pamphleteer complained that "scarcely one in 500 English Jews understood the Hebrew language." So late as 1827 Raphael Meldola solemnly warned the community in an open letter to David Abarbanel Lindo, of the disgrace the English Jews were incurring by the "negligence and imbecility" with which they "perpetuated the ignorance of our children." Thus we see that the very same cause which drove our best minds out of the community starved those which remained within. This was the differentiating process which obtained for the most gifted Jewish community in the world the semblance, and, to a great extent, the reality, of the most ignorant.

All this is now happily changed. Emancipation has been won both within and without the community—within by the Reform movement, without by the conquest of the fullest political rights. Both these movements have broadened the Jewish mind. I am far from sympathising with the doctrinal and ceremonial aspects of Reform, but I cannot but recognise that its success struck a decided blow for freedom of thought within the community and for that unfettered discussion of religious problems without which religion must degenerate into a superstition and a fetish. Political emancipation also multiplied our intellectual interests, and invested the Jewish community with a new dignity. The far-reaching results of this dual emancipation could not, of course, manifest themselves in a day

There had to be a wandering in the wilderness, and the upgrowing of a generation to the new manner born. It is only to-day that we are beginning to garner the full fruits in the spontaneous and widely ramifying intellectual interests of our youth, and in the earnestness and tenacity with which our best minds now participate in our work. All this is exemplified in the union of societies which meet to-night in robust health and growing strength to inaugurate what I trust will prove another year of fruitful activity.

THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL VIRTUE

זכות אבות

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE HAMPSHIRE
AND ST. JOHN'S WOOD JEWISH LITERARY
SOCIETY ON THE 2ND FEBRUARY, 1905.

BY THE REV. S. LEVY, M.A.

THE object of this essay is to present within the hour's traffic of a lecture an introductory study of the doctrine of זכות אבות. I must reserve for a future occasion the fuller treatment of some points to which only brief allusion can be made in this preliminary investigation.

The subject has not hitherto received special consideration. In *The Old Paths*, pp. 137-140, McCaul devotes a small chapter to "the merit of ancestors." But his treatment is extremely inadequate. In Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 292-297, there is a section dealing with "the merit of the fathers," but it is incomplete and unsatisfactory. Scattered throughout many works on theology there are sporadic references to "merit," but they are all characterised by want of sympathy or lack of knowledge.

The late Professor Lazarus, in his *Ethics of Judaism*, called attention to the fact that זכות אבות is a specifically Jewish notion to which there is no analogy in the thought of other nations.^a He pointed out the need of a monograph on the subject, and fairly well outlined the scope and method of such a thesis. "It is worthy of a monograph dealing with it philologically, and at the same time presenting its ethical aspects."^b "The meaning of the term

^a English translation, I. 32, II. 270.

^b II. 270.

should be defined, its historical development traced, and a critical appreciation of its various ethical aspects thus made possible. As a matter of course, such an essay should enter into a psychologic consideration of the stimulating and relaxing influence exerted by the idea."^a

On the whole, I propose in my treatment of the subject to follow the lines of these suggestions.

זכות is an abstract noun formed from the root **זכה** "to be pure," and means "purity," or "virtue."^b The word **זָכוּ** — "purity" *R. V.* "innocency"), occurs in Daniel vi., 23. Just as **עון** means the sin itself, and then also the punishment for sin, so **זכות** means the virtue itself, and then also the reward for virtue, the claim or right to a reward for virtue—hence "merit."^c

זכות אבות is, therefore, generally translated rather literally "the merit of the fathers." But "the merit of the fathers" cannot be regarded as a happy rendering. It gives rise to various misconceptions, and besides, it unfortunately emphasises just those aspects which I do not consider to be fundamental.

In the first place, "the *merit* of the fathers" seems to suggest at once that the theory of **זכות אבות** is of necessity a *particular* form of the *general* doctrine of merit or justification by works.^d But in my opinion the two ideas are not so inextricably intertwined. They can, with convenience and advantage, be dealt with separately. **זכות** is based on the Biblical doctrine of **צדק**—"righteousness,"^e whereas **זכית אבות** rests on the Biblical notion of **חסד**—

^a I. 255, 256.

^b Cf. Weber, *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

^c Strack, *Die Sprache der Vater*, v. 18, seems to me to place the cart before the horse in giving "siegen" as the primary meaning of **זָכָה**, and "tugendhaft sein" as the secondary meaning.

^d Cf. Weber, *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

^e Weber, p. 278.

"loving-kindness." Thus the connection between "merit" and "the merit of the fathers" is accidental, and not essential. We may, if we feel so disposed, dislike the notion of "merit," but we need not in consequence extend our condemnation to "the merit of the fathers." From my point of view, we may quite consistently entertain the most strenuous objections to the naked notion of "merit," and yet warmly embrace the inspiring idea of "the merit of the fathers."

In the second place, "the merit of the *fathers*" is liable to be, and is frequently interpreted as having special reference to the fathers *par excellence*, i.e., the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I do not deny that in many passages the phrase must bear this narrower meaning, e.g., in *T.B. Sabbath*, 55a, section beginning "When did the merit of the patriarchs cease to be efficacious?"^a Similarly, in *Baba Bathra*, 91a, זכות אבות must be rendered "the meritorious deeds of the patriarchs." But "the merit of the patriarchs" is a gratuitous restriction of meaning to which I strongly demur. I do not wish to exclude the "patriarchs," but the greater includes the less, and I am anxious to restore the wider connotation of the term אבות and to explain it as "the fathers" generally.

We want a new term then to free us from previous bias, to help us to approach the subject with greater scientific detachment, and to correct previous ambiguities of interpretation. Our new term must enable us to escape with safety from the temptation of inseparably associating זכות אבות with the doctrine of "merit." It must make an absolute divorce possible. It must also entirely remove the danger of limiting the meaning of the "fathers" to the "patriarchs." And as I regard זכות אבות as a parallel doctrine to the theory of original sin, our new translation must also point to this fresh aspect of the subject.

^a Cf. *Tosafoth* ad loc., and *Fayikra Rubba*, § 36.

I therefore suggest "original virtue" as our new rendering of זכות אבות. "Original virtue" fulfils all the three necessary qualifications. Negatively, it asserts that זכות אבות is not necessarily part of זכות, and that זכות אבות need not necessarily mean "the patriarchs." Positively it asserts that זכות אבות is a parallel theory to original sin.

It is important, however, to point out that the doctrine of original sin has been profoundly modified in modern times by the abandonment of the notion of the Fall, and the elimination of the innate depravity of man. According to the latest researches of critics, original sin thus truncated is simply a milder expression for visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children.

"How slender," wrote Jowett, "is the foundation in the New Testament for the doctrine of Adam's sin being imputed to his posterity!—two passages in St. Paul at most, and those of uncertain interpretation. The little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, has covered the heavens."^a

It seems curious that while so much attention has been devoted to the consideration of original *sin*, it has never occurred to scholars to stop to enquire whether there may not be a parallel doctrine of original *virtue*. This oversight is all the more striking when we bear in mind the fact that if original sin now means Exodus xx. 5, that God visits the *sins* of the fathers upon the children, we have but to go to the next verse to find our doctrine of original virtue, that God visits^b the *virtues* of the fathers upon the children.

^a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 180. The passage is quoted more fully in F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, p. 226. Cf. also Tennant's *Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*, I. Abraham's review of this work in *J.Q.R.* April, 1904, pp. 583-587, and Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Sin."

^b Note that "visit" can be used in a good sense, "to reward" as well as "to punish."

What more natural and obvious then, than to pass from the examination of עון אבות to זכות אבות, from "the sins of the fathers" to "the virtues of the fathers," from original sin to original virtue. Yet strangely enough this little leap in thought has never been taken. It is the object of this essay to try to do a little towards rectifying this omission and to identify the notion of "original virtue" with זכות אבות.

How shall we define זכות אבות? I must state at the outset that, as you can readily imagine, I have been unable to discover any formal definition in the whole of Hebrew literature. We have to make many wanderings through the labyrinths of Biblical and Rabbinical writings before we obtain a certain hold upon the clue. There is no definite exposition of what is conveyed by the idea. There is no scientific analysis of the constituent elements of the notion. But if there is no *explicit* statement, there are many *implicit* allusions to the subject. It falls within the province of the trained psychologist to take advantage of such scattered hints and attack the task of working them up into a consistent whole.

I have found sufficient data on the basis of which I am able to construct a satisfactory definition. It must be pointed out, however, that if the definition comes first logically, psychologically it comes last. The logical order and the psychological order are not the same. First principles are in reality last principles, and the best definition is reached at the end of a treatise and not at the beginning.

"The definition of a science has almost invariably not preceded, but followed, the creation of the science itself. Like the wall of a city, it has usually been erected, not to be a receptacle for such edifices as might afterwards spring up, but to circumscribe an aggregation already in existence."^a

^a J. S. Mill, *Essays on some unsettled Questions of Political Economy*. Essay V.
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My definition, then, is *a posteriori* and not *a priori*. It will therefore cause no surprise if the verses or passages I select as the data on which I build my definition do not necessarily contain the first traces of the doctrine, nor am I bound to place them in chronological order. Had I the time in this paper to deal also with the *history* of the doctrine, I should be able to quote passages containing germs of the doctrine much earlier in date than those I have actually chosen to illustrate my point. As I am making the path, I am entitled to pick my own ground.

The following three passages will serve my purpose to indicate the sources from which I deduce my definition.

- I. Exodus xx. 5
 - i) God shews loving-kindness to the thousandth generation
 - ii) of them that love Him and keep His commandments.
- II. Psalm ciii. 17-18.
 - i) The loving-kindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him, and His righteousness unto children's children,
 - ii) to such as keep His covenant, and to those that remember His precepts to do them.
- III. The third quotation is a curtailed extract from the first section of the Amidah, *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* p. 44.

God remembers the pious deeds of the fathers, and

 - i) in love
 - ii) shows kindness to their children's children
 - iii) for His name's sake.

Each of these passages presents some phase or phases of the doctrine, but no single passage is a complete definition in itself. But taken all together, I think they fairly exhaust

the meaning of original virtue. If we then conjoin these data into a composite idea, we find that the notion possesses the following four constituent elements :

- (a) God visits the virtues of the fathers upon the children.
 - I. (i.)
 - II. (i.)
 - III. (ii.)
- (b) He does so for His name's sake, that is to say to be true to His promise. III. (iii.)
- (c) He does so as a mark of grace, as a token of His love, and not as a recognition of man's right. Man cannot claim the exercise of God's mercy. III. (i.)
- (d) The principle only applies when the children continue the piety of their parents. I. (ii.) II. (ii.)

The first three elements are simple deductions from the data, but I have of course to justify the fourth limiting clause, that the principle only applies when the children continue the piety of their parents.

In Psalm ciii., 18, is the phrase "to such as keep His covenant and to those that remember His precepts to do them," in apposition with "them that fear Him," or is the antecedent "children's children"? Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*, p. 305) regards it as a limiting clause, excluding evil-doers from participation in God's loving-kindness.

But this explanation is weak, inasmuch as such a shrinkage of application has already been expressed in vv. 11, 13, 17.

"For as the heaven is high above the earth, so mighty is His loving-kindness over *them that fear Him*."

"Like as a father hath mercy upon his children, so the Lord hath mercy upon *them that fear Him*."

"But the loving-kindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon *them that fear Him*."

Baethgen therefore fails to explain what he sets out to explain, viz.: the seemingly meaningless parallelism or cumbrous tautology.

I hold with Baethgen that the clause has a limiting effect, but in a different sense to him. My interpretation rests on the old exegetical principle of **כלל ופרט**. "When a general proposition is followed by the enumeration of particulars already comprehended in the general proposition, then the scope of the proposition is limited by the things specified."^a

Applying this principle to the verses under consideration, my rendering runs thus: "The loving-kindness of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him, and His righteousness unto children's children, to such [children] as keep His covenant, and to those [children] that remember His precepts to do them." This interpretation need not be rejected as the baseless fabric of my own pretty fancy. It has the support of Ibn Ezra, who, in his commentary on the Second Commandment, Exod. xx, 5-6, quotes this very verse from Psalm ciii., to back up his explanation. Similarly the Targum and the Talmud^b on the Second Commandment enunciate the principle **כשאורחין כשאורחין מעשה אבותיהן בידען** that the sins of the fathers and the virtues of the fathers are visited upon the children only when the children imitate the deeds of their parents.^c

It may be urged, however, that when I have resolved the notion into its constituent elements, it is easy to detect flaws in the definition. Different parts of the definition seem to contradict each other. For instance, one part states that God unreservedly visits the virtues of the fathers upon the children, and another part qualifies this by saying, only when the children are themselves virtuous.

^a Authorised Daily Prayer Book, p. 13.

^b *Sanhedrin*, 27 b.

^c Quoted by Rashi to Exod. xx, 5. See Targum to Exod. xx, 5, and xxxiv, 7, and **נתינה קנר** to both passages.

Again, one part declares that **זכות אבות** is simply God's fulfilment of a promise, the keeping of a covenant ; another part asserts that it is a token of divine love.

These apparent contradictions, far from being sources of weakness, are sources of strength. It is the characteristic of Jewish ethics that it nowhere accepts one theory as final to the exclusion of another. It rejects no great thought, acting on the principle that each may contain some germ of truth.^a Jewish ethics is essentially a system which is a harmony of contradictories. My definition of **זכות אבות** is another illustration of this truth, and is framed in the true spirit of Jewish ethics.

Besides, on closer examination, we shall find that there is not so much inconsistency between the different elements of the definition as may appear at first sight. The apparent contradictions will disappear when we remember that we have to differentiate between physical fact, theological doctrine, and ethical teaching. In some respects, original virtue is simply the statement of a physical fact. In other respects, it is the formulation of a particular theological doctrine. And in other respects again, it is the enunciation of an ethical teaching. My definition includes all these aspects, as will become clearer on a little more detailed examination of the implication of each element.

(a.) God visits the virtues of the fathers upon the children.

We have an early instance of this principle in Genesis xxvi. 2-5. "And the Lord appeared unto him [Isaac], and said, . . . I will be with thee and will bless thee, . . . and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed ; because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes and my laws." The reward promised to Isaac is the consequence and result of Abraham's piety.

^a Cf. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 260.

This element in original virtue is simply a statement of a physical fact, about which there can be no discussion. Just or unjust, it cannot be denied. There it is, and we cannot ignore it. Man does not live by himself alone, and his deeds, good or evil, do not involve himself alone. The deeds of a person do, as a matter of fact, react upon those about him. This makes contemporary virtue collective as well as individual. Man's deeds also react upon his descendants. This makes virtue hereditary, and hereditary virtue is also collective and individual. This is part of what we mean by **וכות אבות**. Even those who lead the most insignificant of lives cannot help influencing those round about them and their descendants who come after them. This influence of one life upon another is not a question of right or wrong. It is a fact, and as a fact, it bears with it certain responsibilities.^a It is an actual fact because of evolution and heredity, environment and education.^b It is a transference to the moral sphere of a principle already admitted to obtain in the physical domain.^c It is an expression of natural law in the spiritual world.

(b.) *For His name's sake.*

This part is the formulation of a theological principle. It is this portion which has, as a rule, loomed largest in the view of those who have studied the question. In the supplementary notes to Weber¹ this element is regarded as the basis of the doctrine. But in my treatment it is reduced to its proper proportions, and placed in its proper perspective.

^a Cf. Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, pp. 272-274.

^b Idem, p. 105.

^c Cf. Karl Pearson, "The inheritance in man of moral and mental characters, and its relation to the inheritance of physical characters." Huxley Lecture, 1903. *The Times*, Oct. 17, 1903.

^d *Op. cit.* p. 409. Note to p. 292.

What part does the idea of the **ברית** the covenant, play in **זכות אבות**? It is an appeal to God's constancy, that He should be true to His promise and faithful to His covenant.

"Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom Thou swarest *by Thine own self*, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it for ever" (Exod. xxxii. 13). To this the Tanchuma adds, "Thou didst not swear to them by the mountains or hills which may perish, but *by thine own self*."^a

"Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember. . . . And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God: but I will for their sakes [*z.e.* in their favour] remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, that I might be their God: I am the Lord" (Levit. xxvi. 42, 44, 45).

"And it shall come to pass, because ye hearken to these judgments, and keep, and do them, that the Lord thy God shall keep with thee the covenant and the loving-kindness which He sware unto thy fathers" (Deut. vii. 12).

"For the Lord will not forsake His people *for His great name's sake*; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you a people unto Himself" (I. Sam. xii. 22).

"But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten up: as a terebinth and as an oak, whose stock remaineth, when they cast their leaves; so the holy seed is the stock thereof" (Isa. vi. 13).

^a Tanchuma ad. loc. This passage is not in Buber's edition.

"But I had pity for mine holy name Therefore say unto the house of Israel, thus saith the Lord^a God, I do not this for your sake, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name. . . . and I will sanctify my great name . . . and the nations shall know that I am the Lord" (Ezek. xxxvi. 21-23).

"O Father, our King! do it for Thy sake, if not for ours.

O Father, our King! do it for Thy sake, and save us.

O Father, our King! do it for the sake of Thy great, mighty, and revered name by which we are called."

Authorised Daily Prayer Book, p. 57.

(c.) *As a token of His loving-kindness.*

The doctrine of the covenant leads naturally to the element of **חסד** grace.^a If the descendants are not worthy, and God still keeps His covenant with them, He does so **באהבה**, as a token of His loving-kindness, as a mark of grace **חסד**!).

This element in the definition is therefore partly theological, because it introduces us to the doctrine of grace. But it also points to a physical fact. We see that God shows mercy to people who, as far as human insight can tell, do not apparently deserve it.

We ourselves, in our everyday human conduct, also often act quite apart from any considerations of merit. For instance, we help a man for his father's sake, even if the son is unworthy of our assistance. Because he is the son of his father, we judge him **לכף זכות** "in the scale of

^a Cf. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. "Grace," and *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v. "Loving-kindness."

^b I am inclined to think **חסד אבות** is the older expression for **זכות אבות**. See Jer. xxvii. 18, and such phrases as **חַסֵּד לְאַבְרָהָם** and **חוֹכֵר חֲסֵדֵי אֲבוֹת**.

merit."³ Similarly we give charity to a man not because he deserves it, but because the play of his features reminds us of one near and dear to us. Then we do things for the sake of the past, for auld lang syne, for the sake of old associations. Witness the blind affection of a mother for her child, or the devotion of a nurse to her charge, even after the child has turned out bad. The love is shown because of the memory of his innocent childhood.

Nations as well as individuals act in this way. The nation continues the payment of pensions to the descendants of those ancestors who in the past rendered yeoman service to the state.

All this may be unreasoning, but emotion is not necessarily logical and judicial. That is as a matter of fact how we do act. Our deeds are not always dictated by considerations of individual deserts.

Do we not here get a brief and partial glimpse of the solution of the problem which perplexed the Psalmists, "Why God allows the wicked to prosper?" If we mortals with all our weaknesses, can act thus kindly in the spirit of grace to our erring brethren, would we, to use a bold metaphor, rob God of a privilege and right we do not deny to ourselves?

(d.) When the children are themselves virtuous.

This is a statement of a physical fact. It implies the modern theory of "tendency."

A righteous son of a righteous father requires no explanation. That is what we should expect, and we may regard this case as normal. A wicked son of a wicked father also presents no difficulty. That is also what we might expect, and we may also regard this case as quite normal. This is what the Targum means in its interpre-

³ Cf. *Ethics of the Fathers*, I. b. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 185.

tation of the Second Commandment, to which reference has already been made.

The Talmud^a proceeds to inquire how we can explain the apparent exceptions—the righteous son of a wicked father, and the wicked son of a righteous father. It is because in the one case, says the Talmud, the evil tendency has not been developed, but has been kept in check. Only the good tendency has been cultivated, and hence we get a righteous son of a wicked father. And in the second case we meet with a wicked son of a righteous father because he has neglected the cultivation of his good impulses, and has developed to the full his evil tendencies.

This I believe, is quite in accord with the modern theory of evolution and heredity.

Besides, although the law of evolution and progress may show discontinuity in certain individual cases, yet as a race the world progresses. Herbert Spencer leaves no offspring, but the world benefiting by his teaching is his offspring. In the law of averages errors tend to cancel one another.^b So in the law of evolution, exceptions tend to counteract one another without the validity of the generalisation being affected.

This element in the definition is also ethical, as it teaches the lesson that we should imitate and continue the tradition of virtue we have inherited.

We are now in a position to proceed critically to estimate the ethical value of the doctrine of original virtue.

We may consider first what, in the language of Lazarus, are the "stimulating" effects of the doctrine.

(a) Emulation of idealised past. In the first place, it inculcates reverence for and imitation of an idealised past.

^a *Sanhedrin* 27b; *Berachot* 7a, and parallel passages.

^b Cf. Jevons, *Theory of Political Economy*, p. 16.

"Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you" (Isa. li, 2).

This thought has been well expressed by Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Clarendon Press Edition, II. 42).

"Under a pious predilection for those ancestors, your imaginations would have realised in them a standard of virtue and wisdom beyond the vulgar practice of the hour, and you would have risen with the example to whose imitation you aspired. Respecting your forefathers, you would have been taught to respect yourselves."

Dryden has a couplet to the same effect:—

"Do then as your progenitors have done,
And by your virtues prove yourself their son."

We only look on the virtues of Israel's heroes in the past. We charitably ignore their failings, because we remember that after all they were human beings. We thus get an idealised past. We hold the mirror up to this idealised past. We catch its reflection, and this idealised past creates within us a sense of something unattained in the sphere of the reality of the present. This idealised past further conveys to our minds and hearts the promise and earnest of a fairer order and more rounded fulfilment in the golden age which we still place in the future. But our visions of this future are based on an idealised past.

(b) *Tradition.* Original virtue teaches respect for tradition, and the necessity of preserving historic continuity. We must not cut ourselves adrift from the past. We must not be traitors to it. Tradition gives us an accumulation of spiritual force. A fixed liturgy makes us share the feelings of our ancestors, and strengthens us in the faith for which they made sacrifices. Prayers are consecrated by the use of centuries.

The doctrine is an incentive both to the liberal and to the conservative. To the conservative it is an inspiration

to maintain tradition. To the liberal it is an incentive to preserve the old stem, even if in his opinion the autumnal leaves have to be cast off."

(c) *Organic or Dynamic Solidarity*. Israel is a body with its limbs stretching through the past, present, and future.^b It is important to note that it is in the discussion on **זכות אבות** that the Talmud for the first time lays down the principle **כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה** "All Israelites are responsible for one another." This points to the organic nature of human society—that society is extended in time as well as in space.

To quote Burke once more, "Society is indeed a contract. . . . It is a partnership, . . . not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born."^c

זכות אבות thus sounds the note of moral solidarity. But moral solidarity seems to have reference rather to the statics of ethics—the responsibility of the present for the present. But **זכות אבות** does more than this. It has reference also to the dynamics of ethics. It also emphasises the responsibility of the present for the future. To the question, "What has posterity done for us?" it answers, "What can we do for posterity?" While original virtue tends to create a sense of corporate liability horizontally, it also has the further effect of uniting in sympathy successive generations perpendicularly. That is why I suggest organic or dynamic solidarity as a better expression to connote what **זכות אבות** implies beyond what is already included in moral solidarity.

^a Cf. Morris Joseph. *Op. cit.* p. 33.

^b Weber. p. 292.

^c *Sanhedrin*, 27b. *Shevuoth*, 39a. *Mishna Rosh Hashana*, III. Tosafoth Jomtov on **זה הכלל**

^d *Op. cit.* II. 113, 114. Cf. Kidd. *Principles of Western Civilisation*, p. 118.

d) *Virtues to the virtuous.* Original virtue must not be regarded as the unearned increment of divine grace. Original virtue is not a legacy bequeathed free of duty. It is not a gratuitous gift of Nature, conferred or received at birth, and enjoyed throughout life without some payment being demanded in return. The acceptance of the boon and the endowment imposes reciprocal obligations. *Virtues to the virtuous.* "The wages of virtue is virtue."

"All the time the righteous do the will of God they acquire strength and power to perform further acts of righteousness."

As Carlyle wrote, "Do the duty which lies nearest to thee, the second duty will have already become clearer."

In this sense of original virtue, we become, in the language of Goethe, the accomplices of our own destiny (not the despairing fatalism implied in the Scotch expression "to dree one's weird", the accessories of our own deeds before the fact.

If we would have the privilege of original virtue, we must accept the duty of ourselves being virtuous. Original virtue "never countenances a lax conception of moral obligations. Remembrance of the promises given to those who have gone before constitutes a standard burdening with duty rather than disburdening from it, for it is well known that the זכות is effectual only 'if the later generation continues the meritorious work' (כשאחוזין מעשה אבותיהן בדיהן)". *Virtues to the virtuous.*

Now what are the "relaxing" effects of the doctrine?

(a) There is, of course, the danger of relying on the achievements of the past, of depending on the virtues of the

^a *Ethics of the Fathers*, IV. 2. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 105.

^b *Yalkut to Lamentations*.

^c *Lazarus*, II. 289. On the influence of habit on moral conduct, see the interesting chapter on "Habit" in James, *Principles of Psychology*; Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. 272; C. G. Montefiore, "Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance," *J.Q.R.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 224, 225.

past, and thus taking away all spurs and incentives to present individual virtue. But we have already seen in the last section how this danger is averted by the principle of "virtues to the virtuous." Our boasting of the past is in vain if we do not continue the work of the past and contribute our own quota to the progressive development of the human race. "Let all who are employed with the congregation act with them for Heaven's sake, for then the merit of their fathers sustains them, and their righteousness endures for ever."^a Otherwise, as in the Russian proverb, we are simply like geese, cackling because our ancestors saved Rome.

b It will have been noted that throughout my treatment I have dealt with original virtue quite apart from the doctrine of merit, because, as I said at the beginning, I regard the connection between the two as accidental and not essential. I have no space here to go into the general doctrine of "merit." That is another story for another day.

But, granted that **זכות אבות** can, to a certain extent, be also treated as a particular form of merit, what, under those circumstances, is its possible relaxing effect? There would be the danger of the sin of self-righteousness, of sanctimonious self-satisfaction, either through the virtue of the present, or through original virtue—the virtue inherited from the past.

But this danger is extremely small, and is easily minimised when we remember that Jewish ethics supplies plenty of correctives to the naked notion of merit.

"God did not reveal the respective reward attached to the performance of each precept. Had He done so, some precepts would be scrupulously heeded, and others woefully neglected."^b

^a *Ethics of the Fathers*, II. 2. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 187. See Lazarus II., 287-290, for a discussion of this saying of Rabban Gamaliel.

^b Tanchuma to **עקב** Buber's Edition.

"Be heedful of a light precept as of a grave one, for thou knowest not the grant of reward for each precept."^a

"O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto Thee, but unto us confusion of face" (Dan. ix., 7). R. Nechemyah said, "Even in the hour when we act righteously before Thee, we examine our deeds and are ashamed of our shortcomings."^b

But the form of our prayers is the best answer. The Jew does not appear as a bold suitor before the throne of God, confident in his righteousness and claiming the reward of his virtue. "Sovereign of all worlds! not because of our righteous acts do we lay our supplications before Thee, but because of Thine abundant mercies. What are we? What is our life? What is our piety? What our righteousness?"^c

"Our Father, our King! be gracious unto us and answer us, for we have no good works of our own; deal with us in charity and kindness, and save us."^d

"O thou who speakest and doest, of Thy grace deal kindly with us."^e

To sum up, the doctrine of original virtue accepts on the one hand determinism, and on the other hand free will. It teaches us that man wins reward by his merit, and on the other hand that he only gets kindness shown to him by divine grace.

"Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given; and the world is judged by grace, yet all is according to the amount of the work."^f

It is a compromise between individualism and collectivism.

^a *Ethics of the Fathers*, II. 1. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 187.

^b Tanchuma to **כי תישא**. Not in Buber's edition.

^c *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 7.

^d p. 57, again on p. 65.

^e p. 318. Note in the Hebrew the force of **הַנֶּחֱסֵה**, "for nothing," i. e., with no claim on our side for the **הַסֵּד** we pray for.

^f *Ethics of the Fathers*, III. 19. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 134.

It emphasises individual responsibility, and yet recognises that human relations are so mutually involved that there must be corporate liability, moral solidarity, and organic or dynamic responsibility. It therefore takes account of evolution and heredity.

Not only is the doctrine itself specifically Jewish, but its manner of summing up within itself mutual contradictions and offering compromises is also specifically Jewish, a characteristic of Jewish ethics. In fact **זכות אבות** touches the whole range of Jewish ethics at so many points, it cuts so deep down to the very roots of Jewish ethics, that it may be said that not only is it a specifically Jewish doctrine, but it may justifiably be regarded as one of the leading principles of Jewish ethics.

I am not bold enough to put forward this paper as the last word on the subject, but I trust that my tentative treatment will form the basis for and provoke a helpful and suggestive discussion, from which may issue the most correct interpretation of what must always be to me the elusive and alluring doctrine of original virtue.

THE JEW—A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

*A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NORTH LONDON JEWISH
LITERARY UNION, ON THE 6th OF MARCH, 1905,*

BY MISS BUENA POOL, B.Sc.

THERE is one word in the title of this paper which, perhaps, would be improved by alteration. That is the word "Psychological." I do not mean to say that the paper is not psychological, but it is perhaps more accurately described as "Ethological." Ethological is, I believe, an addition, made by John Stuart Mill, to the English language imported straight from the Greek "Êthos"—the heart or soul of man, the seat of his intellect, feelings, desires, and passions—and is used to mean the character, or the study of the character, of man.

In our ethological study of the Jew, then, let us begin with a few typical definitions supposed to have been supplied by an outsider, and consider how much truth there appears to be in them. Voltaire's terrible definition—"The Jews are an ignorant and barbarous people who for a long time have joined the foulest creed to the most frightful superstitions and most unconquerable hate against all who endure and enrich them"—leads us on to the popular definition current in Russia. We can imagine a typical Russian giving vent to some such opinion as the following:—"The Jew is a mean, grovelling, cunning, sullen, crawling pariah, a parasite feeding on the life-blood of the Christian, a vermin without morals or intellect, a cannibal delighting in blood, prolific as all unpleasant insects, and

as difficult to extirpate, hating and stealing from his neighbour, the ardent worshipper of the Golden Calf, the lineal descendants of the murderers of God."

We can contrast with this the off-hand answer of the British aristocrat :—" The Jew? Oh! a creature much the same as a Christian but who does not go to Church. A bit thin-skinned, perhaps, but open-handed and intellectual."

Again, the description which might come from some of our suburbs, current in novels and comic papers, runs something like this :—" The Jew is a portly, sensual, self-indulgent animal of outrageously ostentatious and unpleasant habits. Free with his money in self-gratification or self-advertisement, he is nevertheless as mean in discharging his civic and other high duties as he is poor, small, and circumstantial in intellect. For him, cunning supplies the higher functions of intellect; the instinct of self-gratification, fostered by a materialistic religion, supplies the lower functions. ' Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die,' is his guiding text."

These dark and unpleasant pictures could be matched by others as flattering as these are the reverse, for it has always been the Jew's fate to be either over- or underestimated—either hated or loved (more often hated), hardly ever regarded impartially. They give rise to two questions :—

1. How far are they true?
2. How, then, has the character of the Jew come to be what it is?

In dealing with a large question such as the psychology of a race, there is always needed great care not "to travesty the lavish, finely-discriminated varieties of Nature by reducing them to a handful of cut and dried types." It is obviously only possible to deal with the very broadest, most widely-spread, most obvious characteristics, and the infinite sub-division and varieties of character, because they

must of necessity be passed over in silence, must not be assumed to be absent nor must they be forgotten.

"Character," says J. S. Mill, "is a completely formed will." "Character," says Emerson, "is the moral order seen through the medium of an individual nature." Whatever definition we may give for character, we must agree that the differences between man and man are not differences of kind, of elementary constitution, but differences of proportion, differences of relative value of admixture. Our human nature is the same for all, and composed of the same elements; it is the relative preponderance of these elements which makes the differences between us. And every specimen of that complex product—an adult character—has been formed by the same two forces: Heredity and Environment—Heredity, the result of time that is past; Environment, the acting force of the present.

Though it is easy enough in theory to separate the effects of these two forces—heredity and environment, or Nature and nurture—yet in actual practice it is extremely difficult. For consider the first few years of a child's life—how is it possible to distinguish what is inherited from its parents from that which is merely imitated? The two forces are here acting together and in exactly the same direction. In another sense also man inherits his environment—he is born into a certain state of society, a certain set of manners, of customs, habits, religion even. "Social heredity" is the useful phrase which has been coined to cover this inheritance of man—"the heir of all the ages in the foremost ranks of time."

If, however, we limit the meaning of heredity to cover simply that which is congenital, that which is born with a man, we still have a very wide field. A child is born with certain definite capacities and certain instincts, for the most part waiting for their appropriate time to manifest their presence. It has been held that man was distinguished

from the brutes by the small number of his instincts, for the lack of which he was compensated by a greater reasoning power. The more modern view holds, however, that man is the possessor of a larger number of instincts than any other of the mammals, not excepting the monkey.

An instinct may be defined as :—The faculty of acting in such a way as to produce certain ends, without foresight of the ends, and without previous education in the performance.

We see instincts in their simplicity in the lower animals. The instincts that bid the duck swim, the cat catch a mouse, the hen sit on her nest of eggs, are well known to everyone. And yet the animals, in spite of their complicated movements, cannot be believed to have an intelligent and prophetic knowledge of the results of their act. At least, this holds good for the first time such an act is performed. Is it probable that a hen which is sitting on eggs for the first time has a mental picture of the brood of chickens that will result? If the animal has memory, no second act can be quite as simply instinctive as the first. And man has memory. Added to which he has such a multitude of different instincts that they get in each others' way, and prevent each other from working out its full effects immediately. An instinct is a tendency to act—an impulse. When more than one of these impulses are awakened together, they block each others' paths, or they are said to inhibit one another.

After an enumeration of eleven instincts which develop in the child's early years (such as biting, crying, clasping an object, locomotion and vocalisation), Professor James, the American psychologist, proceeds to enumerate eighteen or nineteen instincts which are developed at different periods of man's life. These include :—fear, the hunting instinct, curiosity, rivalry, love, ambition, pugnacity, acquisitiveness, &c., &c. All these instincts are the natural dower of every child that is born into this world, but they may be

neglected or they may be increased in potency by habit. Some of them also come under the heading of emotions; the question of classification is exceedingly difficult and of little value in these cases.

Suppose we examine which of this long list of instincts appear to be the Jew's special dower—or which appear to be specially developed in the Jew. We cannot perfectly eliminate the action of environment in this connection, but environment in the various parts into which it may be subdivided (*e.g.*, family, home, school, earning a living, etc.) will be considered more in detail later. We are at present dealing with that part of his psychology that is more or less largely the Jew's inheritance.

The first instinct to be considered, because it develops so early in the child, is that of imitation. Early education builds very largely on this instinctive reaction, and the instinct does not die out with the child's growth. We ourselves are always consciously or unconsciously imitating our associates. This imitativeness is an exceedingly noticeable thing in the Jew—it is very largely merely imitativeness combined with the dramatic instinct and increased by the influence of surroundings that has earned the Jew the title of "adaptable." The dramatic instinct itself is composed of imitation or mimicry plus emotional capacity or sympathetic insight—it is not more than undirected activity imaginatively stirred by the expression or the description of the expression of another. The Jews are dramatic—they have the emotional capacity and the imitative instinct strongly developed. They have at all times copied their Gentile neighbours, when allowed to do so, from the days when the streets of Alexandria were thronged with Jews and Greeks. This was chiefly because to be obviously a Jew was to court opprobrium. Here environment assists Nature, until "Assimilation," *i.e.*, "Imitation," has become the watchword of one section of Jewry.

It is convenient, therefore, to contrast with this what Arnold White calls "The aloofness of Israel." In discussing the instinct of Love, Prof. James makes mention of the curious feeling which he calls the instinct of personal isolation, or the instinctive desire to guard the sacredness and sanctity of one's own person and soul. He points out that what is called coyness in women is an example of this, together with the facts that hand-shaking is disagreeable to some persons, and chairs that are still warm from the last occupant are most disagreeable to many. I know a case of a lady who would always insist upon airing a thimble which had been worn by someone else before she would put it on.

This instinct of personal isolation, it appears, has become *racial* in the Jews. Originally inculcated by the great teachers of Israel and enforced by their religion, it has been artificially fostered during the Middle Ages by necessity, and the Ghetto walls. The Jews have had to keep to themselves—and they have developed a great racial instinct, and an instinct of racial isolation. It is this instinct which keeps there those of our marriages which are still within the pale, while the imitative instinct assists in the terribly great number of mixed marriages. The instinct of racial isolation is no longer artificially forced in England, and it is combated on all sides by the strong instinct of imitativeness. It is, however, still healthily alive, and the aloofness of Israel ("they will not eat, marry, talk, or worship with us") is still a well marked characteristic.

It is aided, too, by the instinctive pride of the Jew. Every Jew feels in his heart of hearts that he and his people are better than his Gentile neighbours—he is cleverer, smarter, more virtuous and temperate, more free from superstition, and altogether "cuter" than his neighbour (unless, perhaps, the neighbour chance to be an Eastern States Yankee, a

Scotsman, or a Greek, when the "cuter" factor would have to be omitted). The Jews are the Chosen People, they know it, they feel it—their very survival proves it, and they are reserved for a great destiny. Thus do the Jewish religion and the Jewish ideals foster the Jew's instinct of pride, which in its turn partly bolsters up the instinct of racial isolation, that has helped to keep us in existence.

But the instinct of love, and that of parental love, have done even more to keep us alive. The Jew has always been famous as an example of the domestic virtues, and the Jewish home has always been a model for the world. "Domesticity," says Emerson, writing about the English nation, "is the tap root which enables the nation to branch wide and high. The motive and end of their trade is to guard the independence and privacy of their homes—nothing so marks their manners as this concentration on their household ties." Among the Jews this domesticity is very largely due to their religion, for ceremonial Judaism is a religion of the home, a religion for the home. The continual hope of a Messiah, so longed-for in the time of Captivity, has fostered domesticity and the care of children; the Talmud enjoins it in such as the following words:—"A man shall ever diligently strive to honour his wife, for God's blessing is vouchsafed to house and home only on account of the housewife" (*Yebamoth* 63), and "He whose wife has died is to be pitied, as he who has seen God's sanctuary destroyed before his eyes" (*Sanhedrin* 22).

The Jew's love for his family and home is like a deep river flowing through the country of his life. On its banks are the towns and cities of events, the villages and houses of small happenings, the mills for which it grinds the corn. To all it brings the forces and food they need, influencing them; the fields of his life it vivifies with green herbage, and beautifies and livens with bright flowers. Deep, steadfast, and strong, it flows silently through his whole life.

The deep love of the Jew will call for notice again when we are considering the education of the young, which comes under environmental influence.

The Jewish women have also assisted, by their superior attractiveness, piquancy, and domesticity, to keep the nation together, and Emerson says: "As the men are affectionate and true-hearted, the women inspire and refine them."

Of the remaining instincts, perhaps those of fear and anger, of pugnacity, emulation, and ambition, acquisitiveness and vanity, require notice. Fear is an instinct which has been artificially forced in the Jew. Originally a martial nation, they are now known for physical cowardice and moral courage. But persecution, and oppression, and constant danger made fear a constant factor in the Jew's life.

It will be noted that herein is contained a practical admission of the theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. But perhaps it is more apparent than real, for it may be largely explained as an effect of social heredity—by the inheritance of traditions and imitation of characteristics which have been acquired by the parents, and which are re-acquired by the children. The theory is almost universally tacitly assumed in writings about the Jews.

Fear and anger or pugnacity, are mutually opposed instincts which inhibit one another's action. It must be admitted that in the Jew fear has been so cultivated externally as to have got the upper hand of pugnacity, properly so-called. The Jew fights with his intellect only—he considers his business a great game of skill in which he has to fight and get the better of the other man. The three natural instinctive reactions of emulation, ambition, and acquisitiveness help his intellect here. The Jew, pushed to the ground for so long, burns with desire to advance, to acquire wealth, to do better than the nations who have so

long held the upper hand ; and the vehemence of his desire and the industry he manifests, cause him to succeed. The Jew has the capacity for feeling deeply—he has the emotional capacity ; that is the keynote of his character.

The instinctive love of approbation and vanity, with the Oriental love of display and brightness, perhaps need only to be mentioned. They will be recognised as belonging to the Jew. The instinctive love of approbation fights with the pride of the Jew, and only too often vanquishes it.

The hunting instinct of the Jew has had no chance to develop—it has been repressed from the outside ; the poor Jew has been the quarry, has acted the part of the prey.

To pass on now to consider the effects of environment, properly so-called. Environment for these purposes may be sub-divided into a number of factors, of which the chief are:—The family, the school, friendship, the pursuit of livelihood, citizenship, and the religious organisation. Of these, the religious organisation has so wide, universal, and deep an influence, that I cannot treat it separately, but it comes in throughout, and is noticed everywhere. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the Jew and his religion are one—the racial bond is slight compared with the religious bond, and one cannot help observing how largely the Jew is a result of his religion, that magnificent religion which was bequeathed to him by his forefathers. The attempt to dissociate the Jew from his religion, to preserve the spirit of the Jew while abrogating the letter and form of his religion, has been criticised as an attempt to break the vessel without spilling the wine.

The first environment to act upon the child is that of his home and family. And here it is necessary to point out that although we are and have been dealing with adult characters, yet the character of every man is actually formed in the child and youth. Childhood and youth are the developing times, the times when the young plant

springs up from the seed, and the baby develops into the man, and it is during this time that the man is made. The mature man, whose various instincts have ripened in succession and been settled or suppressed by habit, is a gradual growth, and in childhood and youth these habits are fixed for the most part by the external forces.

The Jewish home has already been dealt with, but it is necessary to point out once more a fact which is well known, viz., the great care and devotion that is lavished by Jewish mothers upon their children in their early years. The following figures are not the most recent, but they are typical:—While 407 Orthodox Russian infants died out of every thousand, only 232 Jewish Russian children died—and in Russia the average Jew never has enough to eat for himself and his family. Here again we may trace the influence of religion—in the hope entertained by every Jewish parent that the Messiah might spring from among his children.

But the effects of this early care are greater than may appear on the surface. It probably makes the difference between health or weakness for the whole of the child's life. The wiriness or staying power of the Jew has often called for notice—the early care of the mothers, followed by the continuous lifelong obedience to the health-giving and sanitary Levitical code, is probably sufficient to account for this and for the comparative immunity of the Jew from the mediæval plague scourges. From the point of view of character, also, this healthiness is important. MacCunn has pointed out that the healthy body is the servant, the weakly, unhealthy body the master, of the soul. Dr. Johnson once declared that illness makes a man a scoundrel, and if this is extreme and one-sided, it errs from excess on the right side. There is no denying that illness deprives a man both of opportunities of development and of the power or desire to develop.

The Jewish child, therefore, grows up well cared for in a good home, and very early in a Jewish home his education begins. The German school of educationists, who give as the aim of education the one word "morality," or the production of a moral character in the adult, rightly place history as the most character-forming of studies. They give it the central place in their scheme of education, and build the remaining studies around history, history adapted to suit the child's mind at its various stages. It is a culture subject, but, more than that, a character-forming subject—it supplies, as no other subject does, material for moralising, examples for imitation, heroic virtues, and every material for moral education.

Think of the history on which for centuries the mind of the Jewish child has been fed from its earliest years! From the history recited on the Passover eve, the Seder service, and that which is brought vividly home to him, brought up to date for him, brought into his very life by each of a large number of constantly recurring festivals, from the vast collection of historical narratives in the Old Testament, to the later history of his people as studied by the youth, one could not desire a finer field of instruction, a better weapon for the educator. The essential point which I wish to emphasize is that the impetus is given to the study by the fact that by his religion, the history is actually brought vividly into the life of the child.

Another factor in the education of the Jewish child, which is of great importance, is his study of languages. This is a study which develops the mind on the intellectual side. Edward Thring, the great English educationist, held that no study gives so much training in thought, observation, and accuracy, or calls forth so much of the reasoning power of the child as that of a dead language. The attempt to trace the thought, to follow the logical construction in a sentence in a dead language, and to render it into the mother

tongue, calls forth the maximum of reasoned intellectual action on the part of the child.

For about two thousand years have the minds of our Jewish children been exercised on the study of such a language. Hebrew has been the whetstone on which for two thousand years the Jewish child's intellect has been sharpened, and it again was brought into the daily life of the child, and its value so intensified. The crowded "chedorim" of our East End testify to the continued action of this means of education. All our children have had a classical education. Add to this study of a dead language, the usually necessary learning of a living one in the country in which the Jew is always an exile and an alien. The Jews are among the linguists of the world—many of the most typical Jews have at their disposal three or four European languages, in addition to Yiddish and Hebrew. The Yiddish speaking people are nearly always of necessity at least bilingual. Zangwill says in one of his essays:—"The mere possession of another tongue is an intellectual sharpener." As a matter of fact, the mere possession of another tongue is a material advantage—the acquirement of it was the intellectual sharpener.

So much then for the early and specifically Jewish education of the young, in classics and history. The next great milestone in the boy's life is the Bar-Mitzvah, or confirmation, at the age of thirteen. In his recent work on the Psychology of Religion, Professor Starbuck, of California, has shown by a statistical inquiry how closely parallel in its manifestations the ordinary conversion or spiritual awakening which occurs in young people brought up in evangelical circles is to that growth into a larger spiritual life which is a normal phase of adolescence in every class of human beings. Conversion, he concludes, is in its essence a normal adolescent phenomenon, incidental to the passage from the child's small universe to the wider intellectual and spiritual life of maturity. Dr. Starbuck

continues: "Theology takes the adolescent tendencies and builds upon them; it sees that the essential thing in adolescent growth is bringing the person out of childhood into the new life of maturity and personal insight. It accordingly brings those means to bear which will intensify the normal tendencies. It shortens up the period of duration of storm and stress."

He finds the ages of this stage of development usually fall between fourteen and seventeen. When we consider the more rapid and earlier ripening of the Oriental, we are struck with the wonderful psychological insight which instituted the Bar-Mitzvah ceremony, and which two thousand years ago gave the age of thirteen as that for studying the Commandments (*Pirke Aboth*), or the adoption of religious responsibility. The precise psychological moment for increasing and intensifying the religious life of the youth, for making religion a living force and factor in his future life, was seized upon and utilised.

The later Talmudical and casuistical training of the youth served to sharpen his wits, gave him legal ability, and the power and desire to work out curious problems. Argumentativeness and casuistical skill were derived from this training.

This sketch of the specifically Jewish part of a child's training and education would not be complete without mention of the Jewish love for learning and desire for education of all sorts. Jewish parents will make any sacrifice in order to allow their children education—they will keep them at school and college till long past the age when they might be earning a living. There is, as Arnold White says, a hunger and thirst for knowledge which is almost pathetic—all the children being educated—and he gives some figures. Already in 1887-88, when the Jews were only five per cent. of the population, Jewish students formed 19·3 per cent. of all the students in Austria, and in

the *Gymnasia* and *Realschule* in 1888-9, although the Jews formed only 4·5 per cent. of the population, they formed 20 per cent. of the scholars. These are old figures, and they have doubtless increased since then. The Jews have always been a nation of students, and the Talmud places the scholar above the king. This ancient and Oriental desire for, and love of, learning has actually been fostered by attempts to keep the means of education from the Jews. As soon as liberty came, the Jew's "deadly resolve to get on" led him to see the value of ordinary secular education, and to seek for it by all means in his power—if not for himself, for his children. Love of his religious education was ingrained in him.

Thus, for two thousand years, from the days of the Greeks, through the dark ages to the present day, every Jewish child has been receiving a classical and literary education, an education which has been part of his life. The full significance of this is perhaps not grasped until it is compared with the state of things outside the community. Even in the wonderful civilisation of Greece and Rome the education of the masses was a thing not thought of—education was confined to a few aristocrats. And all through the dark ages the spirit of feudalism was directly opposed to any education of the masses. Luther first preached the doctrine that every man was entitled to be taught to read his Bible. All this time the Jews were studying—the Jewish children were reading the Bible in its original tongue. Is it a wonder that now the Jewish mind is the better and brighter for it?

We have sketched the child's progress into young manhood or youth; the next character-forming activity in which he must engage and which forms a lasting part of his environment is the pursuit of livelihood. And this brings us to the wide and often discussed questions whether the Jews really have a greater aptitude for trading and for the

parts of middleman and capitalist, and whether they really have greater success in them, and how a pastoral people has developed into a commercial people. Probably everyone knows the story of the second half of the discussion, how the Jews, having lost their own country, were forced into commercial ruts by outside influences. And they undoubtedly have developed a talent for business, and in some cases an insight into the state of the markets and the tendencies of large forces that is little short of genius. It is hardly worth entering deeply into a question which has so often been discussed, but a few words as to the success of the Jew are worth while. This has been said to be due to his deadly resolve to get on, and to his self-control and industry, as well as to his ability, which is partly innate, partly trained in the way we have seen. We can analyse the first factors down to a simpler statement.

The determination, self-control, and industry all come under the massive and fierce concentration of the Jewish attention upon the one object. We cannot attend to anything which is absolutely uninteresting, the things to which we attend are always and necessarily limited to those which interest us. It is absolutely impossible to attend to anything which we do not understand and which does not interest us. Thus psychologically, this narrows down the reason for such success as the Jew earns to the concentration of his interests on the one end of advancement and material prosperity. Interest is the hedonic aspect of attention, it belongs to the pleasure-pain part or emotional part of our psychological life—and here we come up against the bed-rock of the Jewish character again—the great emotional capacity of the Jew. It is this capacity for emotion which makes his psychic life the seat of so powerful and absorbing an interest as to make self-control a simple matter, all things lying outside this one aim having little interest and so no temptation. Industry

again is the result of attention, which is invariably the result of interest, and so the Jew's success in business, as in art, is due to this fundamental characteristic. He fixes his eyes on the future, he knows what he wants, and he will get it.

It is worth noting, too, that much of the ceremonial aspect of Judaism, and many of the laws, supply a training in self-denial of great and undoubted value.

The last division of the environmental influences on character viz.: citizenship, is not worthy of much notice. The Jewshavefor such a short time enjoyed the privilege of citizenship that any influence it may have had must necessarily be small. On the other hand, the absence of such citizenship has had a deep influence. For the Ghetto walls have thrown the Jew back upon himself, have turned him in upon himself, and so intensified him, and made him six times Jew. For lack of outer life all the deep inner emotional life of the Jew has been increased and developed ; dreamers of the Ghetto have been the result.

Thus has resulted from the régime of centuries the modern Jew. And if we dismiss as the pronouncement of ignorance and prejudice the Russian picture of the Jew, yet it is not so easy to dispose of the wide-spread opinion which I have denominated the comic-paper Jew. It must be admitted that the comic-paper Jew exists. He is the type that often results when hard and sustained effort has produced what was so eagerly desired, material advancement. He is the type of the effects upon a man of sudden freedom after long servitude.

When a nation suddenly obtains possession of a new land for which it has been fighting, the sudden acquirement of power, the sudden freedom, has a most demoralising effect upon it. Then is seen the greed of gain, the spoliation, the primitive instincts of acquisitiveness, of love of display, of hunting and cruelty, of

despotism. Moral ideas go to the ground, the worst side of the national character is displayed, the nation wallows in its new-found luxury of conquest and freedom.

This is what has continually happened to the Jew. The Jew who literally wallows in his newly acquired wealth and freedom, who flaunts it on every hand, and who goes out of his way to display it, who in fact does the nation so much harm, calling down such adverse criticism from outside, is, one may confidently hope, but a passing phase. If only time be given for the nation or the individual to recover its balance, to settle down under the new conditions and to find its level, these things pass away, the moral side of character takes its proper place again, and reasonableness becomes the order of the day. Very often in the past this time has not been given, the ostentation of the newly freed aroused such violent opposition as to cause their forced return to slavery. The Jew has always been fond of display and has been artistic; when he finds his level this settles down to a quiet luxury and joy in valuable and artistic things, and a certain smartness in costume. At present, however, the supply of newly freed is constantly kept up, and there is always a large class of more or less comic-paper Jews.

The same trouble is seen in religious matters. Their heads turned by the freedom which has been suddenly granted to them, the younger generation who have but just escaped from the Ghetto, love to manifest their absolute freedom by going out of their way to kick and jeer at religion. It is a well known, and I hold, a psychologically explicable fact, that in New York, at any rate, it is the sons of the alien immigrants who are the worst free-thinkers and even anti-semites. But it is permissible to hope that when these people have become used to their freedom, have settled into and realised the new conditions, these things will cease to be. Only time is needed; this

is but the sudden swing of the pendulum which has shot right past its equilibrium point, and rioted to an extreme on the other side. It will gradually settle down to its mean again.

I quote Arnold White:—"The virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of adversity is fortitude. . . . But the Jew, who through all ages has rivalled the Spartan in fortitude, has never acquired the grace of bearing prosperity with temperance." I beg leave to alter the last sentence—"Has never had the opportunity of acquiring the grace of bearing prosperity with temperance." Now is our opportunity, and now we must show our possibilities.

Now, perhaps, we have obtained a better, more correct, picture of the Jew, and traced how he has grown to be what he is. A highly nervous organism, combined only too often as a result of Ghetto life with a weak, physical organism, which contains as a compensation a wonderful recuperative power. And the keynote of the whole character—the deep and fixed capacity for feeling, for emotion.

For consider the religion itself to which the Jews have clung so tenaciously throughout all these centuries of persecution. Religion is an added dimension of emotion in places where morality, strictly so-called, can at best but bow its head and acquiesce. Religion is morality plus emotion. A moral code of laws, a set of external formalities—these do not form a religion. But add the emotions of hope and fear, love and reverence, adoration and wonder, and the cold, lifeless bones of the ethical structure immediately take life and live, and you have a religion—a living religion. And the Jew who has given religion to the whole world, who can claim so vast and wonderful a store of religious emotion as he? It was not coldly and calmly that the ancient Hebrews felt and proclaimed the Unity of God in a polytheistic world, "not," as

Nöldeke says, "as a result of scientific reflection, but as a moral demand tolerating no contradiction." It was the depth of religious emotion which carried all before it, and the depth of feeling our ancestors displayed then is seen displayed in a varying manner in their descendants now.

Again, it is this same capacity which has produced the artists of our race (using the word in its widest sense). The race as a whole is artistic from the same cause. For what is it that goes to form the artist? First, and primarily, the capacity to feel. The poet, musician, painter, must all be alive to beauties and harmony—must all have an emotional life far surpassing that which any ordinary man has; otherwise he has no message. Added to these powers of impression, the artist must possess the power of expression, the power to put down in order to convey to others the wonderful things he has been feeling. I have gone to some pains to point out that the Jew as a race has the subjective power, the emotional capacity; when to this is added the expressive power, we have the world's artists. Not, perhaps, so much in the realm of art narrowly so called, *i.e.*, pictorial art. This may be because the feeling of the Synagogue was against any attempt to make representations of objects, but it is hardly necessary to point out that most of the world's musicians are Jews. Meyerbeer, Moscheles, Halévy, Mendelssohn, Offenbach, Rubinstein, Joachim,—a long list. In the drama the same is found. The Jew, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is dramatic, and he is musical and artistic.

Further, he is intellectual. An intellect trained in Talmudical problems is ready to tackle anything in statesmanship or the money market. That "forcefulness" which is said to characterise the Jew ("a weak Jew would be an anomaly"), and of which we get a typical picture in Shakespeare's Shylock—it all owes its origin to the same cause. The Jew is a man who can feel, and can feel deeply. And

we find the psychology books tell us that the value of the emotions is in the impetus they give to action, they are goads which make us move, prods which keep us awake. Anger is the typical emotion which leads to explosive outbursts of action, but every emotion naturally leads to some course of action, arrestive or progressive. Hence we see how it is the Jew succeeds, when he does succeed. He has this continual impetus—this constant *vis a tergo*.

I have traced the influence of the specifically Jewish education in forming the children's character. For it is necessary to remember that the nation's character is formed in the nation's children, and as our children are everlastingly young, so is our nation everlastingly young and everlastingly developing. Heredity and environment—these are the facts to be considered; and it must be remembered that our children's environment is continually changing. Though we make as much as we can of our children's environment, though we be as conservative as possible—yet there will always remain that part of the outer world which we cannot control, but in which we must live, and in which our forefathers did not live, which is continually acting on, influencing, and moulding, our children. Consequently it is impossible to expect that we can go on being exactly the same under these altered conditions of life as our forefathers were; it is unreasonable not to expect to see some change in our national character; but it is quite possible that this change will only be a broadening or a widening, and as to what it will be—how largely this depends upon ourselves is obvious. "Every nation gets the Jew it deserves," and every nation helps to form the Jew it is to have. This is, of course, a partial statement, but there is that grain of truth in it which makes it valuable.

It may be objected that in thus following out genetically the development of the Jewish character, I have stopped short at fifty years ago—at a couple of generations from

our own time. On the whole, I must plead guilty to this indictment, but with mitigating circumstances. For here we reach a typical Jew—very Jew of very Jew—and the most interesting type, and, moreover, the type that is most common in other countries than our own ; the type, too, that lands on our shores.

In a broad study like this, it is necessary to keep to the typical, apart from the fact that it would take quite another lecture to trace out what has happened in these last years of freedom. I have indicated it earlier, but, on the whole, I prefer to finish with the picture of the typical Jew, who, with all his virtues and his vices, is so largely a product of Christian influences, or, to go deeper yet, of his own religion.

THE BENI-ISRAEL OF INDIA

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OF DECEMBER, 1904,*

BY SAMUEL R. SAMUEL.

MY SUBJECT to-night, I need hardly tell you, presents a great and varied field to the historian, and I cannot hope to deal in any adequate measure with the subject, at least to satisfy those among you who expect such learned investigation that my paper demands. When I reflect how much has been written on the history of the Jews since their dispersion, by men of erudition, it is with some hesitation that I approach you on the story of the Beni-Israel of India; but I am emboldened to do so because there seems to be so little known of that section of the Jews. Yet in dealing with the Beni-Israel in particular, I have the slight advantage of being a member of the people whose story, I trust, may interest you to-night, despite my imperfect means of expression, and the lack of other qualifications necessary to address a society such as this.

The main arguments I would urge are, first, the vindication of the Beni-Israel as Jews of as pure a descent as any existing community of the world's Jews; secondly, the establishment of them on Indian shores as quite feasible, and in no way obscure or difficult to trace; thirdly, the origin of the name Beni-Israel, meaning literally "Children of Israel," which I trust to convince you has nothing in it that would tend to point to a divorce between them and the original Israelites.

The questions I have mentioned have always been the bones of contention for those who have thought fit to question the genuineness of the origin and descent of the Beni-Israel of India. Having mapped out the course I shall follow, before I proceed further I shall dwell a little while on those few men who have written on the subject.

The earliest known student to probe into the history of the Beni-Israel of India, was Dr. John Wilson, Chancellor of the Bombay University; he submitted at various dates accounts of this community to the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was the president, and afterwards a summary of his statements was published in his "Lands of the Bible," but the conclusions at which he arrives are purely his own; he deduces certain instances from the imperfect information he received concerning the Beni-Israel.

The "Bombay Gazetteer," intended as the official classification of every sect and caste in India, and referred to as an authority by the Government, publishes a long account, which is remarkable as being utterly untrue in everything pertaining to the Beni-Israel. It is very amusing, although rather irritating, to see the extravagant manners and customs which are attributed to them.

A pamphlet was, I believe, published about sixteen years ago by Mr. Haeem Samuel, under the heading of "A Sketch of the History of the Beni-Israel, and an appeal for their Education," but this is rather a report of the Israelite School of the Anglo-Jewish Association, of which I shall have occasion to speak later, than anything that can be regarded in the nature of a History of the Beni-Israel.

In 1893, the Rev. J. H. Lord, a missionary well known in Bombay, contributed an article on the subject to the "Indian Church Quarterly Review"—with a decided conversionistic tendency—but his arguments are gathered

among others, from outward appearances of the people, and for that reason they are unreliable.

"The Jewish Year Book" and "The Jewish Encyclopedia," also contain articles on the subject. Therefore, although I may bring you nothing new in the way of statistics, and indeed it was not my intention to do so, yet before launching into the main theme of my subject to-night, it would not be out of place to give you a brief summary of the Jews of India, I mean so far as their numbers are concerned, and the causes that have led up to their present prosperity in the Indian Empire. There are over 18,000 Jews in India. Some of the Jewish residents of India have been attracted to Indian shores in comparatively recent years, chiefly for the purpose of commerce, but *the* Jewish communities are the Jews on the Malabar coast and the Beni-Israel of the Bombay Presidency, and it is of the latter community that I intend dealing with in this paper, they being the representative Jewish population of India, numbering as they do some 10,000 souls, and as you see by far the largest body of the 18,000 Jews of India.

After the fall of Jerusalem, tradition states that Jews came as fugitives "through the Northern Provinces," but before reaching the main land they were overwhelmed by disaster, their ship being wrecked, and only fourteen souls in all being saved. These survivors were cast ashore at a village called Nawgaon, or New Village, about twenty miles south of Bombay. Here the bodies that were washed ashore were buried by their comrades, and there are two mounds, which are still to be seen in that village, that are said to be their graves. Those who survived were destitute, and out of their great calamity they were unable to preserve any books of religion. They were, however, kindly treated by the people of the country at the time, and became, perforce, domiciled on their shores, gradually

spreading their increasing number over the adjoining parts of the country. As time went on their fortune varied, and at times their numbers were greatly reduced by ill-treatment on the part of the native rulers.

India was far from being then an unknown land to Jews; circumstantial facts point strongly to their having been well acquainted with India as a centre of commerce previous to the Dispersion. And now I shall give you a few geographical details that tend to show how accurate are the conclusions that can be deduced as to the ancient Jews having visited India for the purposes of merchandise, many years prior to their becoming established on the land as permanent inhabitants. My contention is that the forefathers of the Beni-Israel were on their way to Cheul, or Sopara, towns of historical interest, because the village of Nawgaon where they were landed after their disaster, is but ten miles from the aforementioned towns.

The town Cheul, known to the ancient Greeks and Romans as Simulla, was a great centre of commerce of all the nations, long before the Christian Era. There is an inscription found in connection with a famous Buddhist cave near Bombay, known as the Kanhari Caves, that is supposed to date C.E. 130, where it is mentioned. It is also famed as the "Simulla of Ptolemy," C.E. 150.

This investigation carries us back to the times of antiquity, when the ports of Thana and Bassin occupied as important a position as a centre of commerce in the old world of India, relatively, as Bombay does to the modern. Thana and Bassin lie to the north of Bombay, but there is also the port of Revadanda to the south, and these were the emporia of trade.

Thana, twenty miles north of Bombay, was preceded by the ancient port of Kalyan, known to the ancient geographers, Greeks and Romans, as Kalliena. The town of Revadanda, or Portuguese Cheul, was built in close

proximity to the above-mentioned famous and very ancient seaport and city of the "Cheul" in question, situated about thirty miles south of Bombay.

Further north of Bombay was the seaport of Barugaza, now Broach, which, in the third century, seems to have succeeded Cheul in being the centre of the trade with Egypt. Quite in the south of India is the port Cochin, on the Malabar coast, at which latter place are to be found the communities of the Cochin Jews.

Within a few miles of the ruins of Bassin, which is about thirty miles to the north of Bombay, is the site of an exceedingly ancient city and seaport, that of Sopar—it is the Sopar of Puranic or even Vedic times—which from B.C. 1500 to C.E. 1300, was the capital of the Indian Konkan. It is famed in the Mahabharata and in other Vedic writings under the name of Shurparak, B.C. 1400, and from it interesting remains have been discovered. Among them was a Buddhist coffer, believed to belong to the time of Gotamiputra II., of the Shatakarni dynasty, C.E. 160 (B.G.) It contained various figures and relics, which revealed the identity of the town. This coffer with its contents is now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.

It has been argued, with no small appearance of probability, that Sopar is the Ophir to which King Solomon's ships sailed (B.G.) Four points may be urged in favour of this view.

First.—The close likeness between the names of Sopar and Ophir. The people near Sopar often change initial "S" into "H" or drop it, thus they say: "Hopari" for "Sopari" (Betelnut), "Hona" for "Sona" (Gold), and so on, and on the other hand, Ophir is written Sophir by Josephus, and according to several authorities, Sophir is the Coptic or Egyptian word for India.

Second.—The length of time taken by King Solomon's

ships, three, or at least, over two years, from the head of the Red Sea to Ophir and back, is more suited to an Indian than an Arabian voyage.

Third.—The articles which the ships brought to Solomon, gold, precious stones, sandalwood, ivory, peacocks and apes, were Indian products.

Fourth.—The Hebrew names of several of the above mentioned articles are of Sanscrit or of Dravidian origin.

I.—Sandalwood — Hebrew, Almag (אַלְמָג), Sanscrit, Valgum.

II.—Ape—Hebrew, Koph (קֹפ), Sanscrit, Kapi.

III.—Peacocks — Hebrew, Tukkiim (תֻּכִּיִּים), Sanscrit, Shikki, or Dravidian, Tôkei.

There is scarcely any need to say that the trade between India and the lands that lie to the north-west of India, with which we identify so much of Biblical history, is of the greatest antiquity. So far from marine traffic between Indian ports and those of the Persian Gulf, of Arabia, of the Red Sea, and of Egypt, as well as elsewhere on the African coast, being developments of modern, or comparatively modern days, such ocean traffic has existed from time immemorial. We find traces of Indian trade with Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylon dating apparently from as early as B.C. 2,500. Indian merchandise has, from times of the remotest antiquity, found its way into the markets of Western Asia and Egypt, by the way of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and through the deserts of Arabia, if not also *via* the Red Sea and Egypt itself.

The “Bombay Gazetteer” in a note thus summarises the testimony of history on this point: “The second Ptolemy Philadephus made a harbour in the east of Egypt, and joined it with Coptus on the Nile near Thebes. The Egyptian ships started from Berenike, about half way down the Red Sea, passed by Mocha and Aden, coasted

eastern Arabia, crossed the mouth of the Persian Gulf to near Karachi, and from Karachi sailed down the Indian coast."

In addition to this route, which carried the riches of India to Egypt and Alexandria, was another important trade route up the Persian Gulf, whereby Indian merchandise passed northward by caravans, or up the river Euphrates, to the markets of Palmyra and elsewhere. This trade especially flourished during the Parthian rule, between B.C. 225 and C.E. 235. When we add to the above the constant inter-communication and trade carried on with Arabian ports and with various ports of the Red Sea shore of Egypt, we may conclude that there were a number of ways open by which such travellers as the first Beni-Israel immigrants could have found their way to the shores of India.

I trust I have not wearied you with relating to you, what is possibly mere geographical reading, but I do so with the object of showing how far and wide-spread must have been the channels of commerce through which the Israelites established themselves in the surrounding countries. The afore-mentioned facts would point to the Jews of Cochin and the Chinese Jews also as relics of bygone commercial relations between Palestine and the lands where they are now to be found.

Here, then, in the near neighbourhood of what was apparently an ancient and once celebrated emporium of foreign trade, is the spot of the earliest residence of the Beni-Israel in India.

I hope I have made clear to you the manner of the establishment of the Beni-Israel on Indian shores, and since I have accounted for this important item, about which much contention has raged, we shall now turn our attention to another point of much debate, viz.: the name of Beni-Israel, and how it is to be accounted for.

This term, as I hardly need tell you, is simply the Hebrew בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "Sons of Israel," or as the same phrase is continually translated in the Bible, "Children of Israel," it is rather difficult to account the exact reason of the adoption of this name, but I believe that the term came into existence during the time when the Mohammedan power prevailed in India. As the Koran distinctly shows a strong antipathy towards the name Yehoodi (Jew), I doubt if any Jew would have found mercy at the hands of the Mohammedans, when Islamism was propagated by the sword, had they made themselves known as Yehoodim (Jew), therefore for fear of being persecuted, they were, for their safety, compelled to go under any other name than Yehoodi (Jew). Mr. Haeem Samuel quotes a very interesting incident in his "Sketch of the History Bene-Israel, and an Appeal for their Education," which occurred during the reign of Tippoo Sultan.

"During the reign of Tippoo and the prosperity of the East India Company, that is during the second Mysore Wars (1780-84), several Bene-Israel, who had enlisted themselves in the service of the Honourable Company, were taken captives by Tippoo's army, and would have been put to the sword had they declared themselves Yehoodim. They were released in consequence of Tippoo's mother having begged of her son to spare the lives of the Bene-Israel, so much talked of in the Koran, and whom she had never had the opportunity of seeing in India. In course of time their descendants made it a point to deny that they were Yehoodim or Jews, and felt insulted if any one called them by that name, for a reproachful word as Kufree (heretic) was sure to follow."

Although the above theory, which would account for the adoption of the name Beni-Israel, by the pressure of certain local circumstances, possesses much inherent

reasonableness, it must also be borne in mind that historically, "Beni-Israel" is a much more ancient term than "Jew," and a much more comprehensive one. The adoption of the name, however, may depend upon the origin assigned to the Beni-Israel of India, and the date to which we ascribe the separation of their ancestors from the main body of their people—for the Jews previous to their dispersion were generally designated Children of Israel, and surely the term would adhere to them through all the centuries of isolation they have experienced in India.

There is another point of controversy over which there has been great misunderstanding, and that is the so-called "Black Jews" of India. Between the Beni-Israel and the Black Jews there is a strong line of demarkation. The term "Black Jews" is very misleading to the outside world, for paradoxically enough, it has nothing whatever to do with the colour of those to whom the term refers, as one would infer: it has to do with the circumstances of their birth, and so emphatic is the division between the two, that it admits of no bridging over, and I cannot lay too much stress upon the importance of the knowledge of the great difference there is between the Beni-Israel and the Black Jews. The term "Black Jew" denotes those who are the offspring of the fusion with the native race. These are, and always have been, most carefully separated from the main body, and though permitted to frequent the synagogues and attend the feasts, they are not allowed to eat from the same table with others of the community, and inter-marriage with them is strictly prohibited. This is an incidental testimony to the care with which the purity of the Jewish descent of the Beni-Israel has been safe-guarded by their community. The Rev. J. H. Lord, speaking on the subject, said: "the Beni-Israel present a marked physiognomy of their own, and that a

distinctly Jewish one." In addition to what has come under his own observation during ten years among them, he says that he may mention, among the testimonies of those who have given him their experience on this head, that of Mr. Sinclair, C.S., the collector of Thana, who once told him that during twenty-two years of contact with the Beni-Israel, he could only remember the case of one of them whom he had any difficulty in identifying as a member of this community from his countenance; they rank among the fairest of the people among whom they dwell.

In passing I would mention here that, as a rule, the women of the Beni-Israel are fairer than the men, and also unlike other women of India, they sometimes show colouring in the cheeks and lips. The comparative fairness of the complexions of the women I attribute to the fact that the men, from time immemorial, have always been engaged in out-of-door pursuits—agriculture, etc.—thus being influenced by the natural conditions of India to assume in some measure the characteristics of the native out-of-door workers, while, on the other hand, the women who have always tended the more homely pursuits of domestic life, escaped the rougher conditions experienced by the men, thus retaining what must have been their original colour, *i.e.* a Jewish one. In speaking of the fairness of their complexions, I do not mean that they ever show the light colouring of the hair and eyes that the Western Jewesses sometimes show, but that the type is always Semitic brunette.

As to the religious observances, customs and practices of the Beni-Israel, I do not see any necessity of examining them closely. During long centuries of practical isolation from the rest of the Jewish population of the world, loss of the books of law, and no synagogues or places of public gathering or worship, it is not surprising that they should

have lapsed into forgetfulness of some customs of their people, but, they have retained very characteristic tokens of their ancestry and faith, among them Saturday as their weekly day of solemn observance. Here it may be mentioned that they had an occupation peculiar to themselves, which was oil pressing. This occupation gained for them, among their neighbours, the specific name of "Teli," or oilman, or as they were commonly designated as "Shanvar Teli," or *Saturday Oilmen*, to distinguish them as oilmen who observed Saturday as their holy day.

Although no scrolls of the Law in Hebrew, nor religious books of any kind have survived among them, yet they have retained in memory certain Jewish formulæ to be repeated on different occasions, and at different ceremonies. They have retained the distinguished Israelite practice of wearing the ear-locks of the hair long. As to the separation of clean and unclean, they had an effective way of dealing with the matter for themselves. They solved the question of which animals were permissible for food and which were prohibited, by confining themselves to fowls, sheep, and goats, removing the prescribed sinew in the leg, or, otherwise—abstaining from eating the hind-quarters of the animals altogether; they would not kill defective animals nor eat those which had died by the course of nature, or which had been strangled or torn by beasts of prey; they abstained from blood and fat. As regards fish, they only used those that had both fins and scales.

There is another Palestinian custom dating from post Talmudic times that was in existence among the Beni-Israel which seems to have very significant bearing upon the question of the date of separation from the main body of the Jews. The Nazarite vow, I believe, is not existing anywhere among Jews in the present century, but the same was carried out by the ancestors of the Beni-Israel in India, although it has almost died out in the present

time. The custom I refer to is mentioned in the seventh chapter of Numbers. The hair of the lad subject to such a vow was left to grow until he was of the age of 7 or 8 years, when it was cut off and weighed against gold or silver, according to the vow, the precious metal being devoted to religious or charitable purposes. The hair, when cut off, was thrown into the sea, instead of being burnt as mentioned in Numbers viii. chap., ver. 18. They also kept their different holidays, fasts, and festivals at the proper time practised by the Jews in Mishnaic times, they counted their month by basing their calculation on the Indian mode of reckoning time, the only difference between the Indian and the Jewish months, which are pertaining to the moon, being about twelve hours. The Rosh Hodesh, or the first of the Jewish month, commences a day after the Indian new moon, so it was very easy for them to keep accurate rendering of their religious times and seasons. They named their holidays in the language that prevailed among them, and I think it is almost unnecessary to describe the same here.

The individual names and surnames of the Beni-Israel have, as in the case with the Jews of other countries of their adoption, been slightly modified or changed by environment. Although still retaining Biblical names, they have become Indianised, by changing into the Marathi dialect, such as Benjamin into "Banaji," Samuel into "Samaji," Moses into "Moosaji," and the like, this being a provision for their welfare, whereby they escaped singularity amongst their neighbours. Their surnames were almost invariably formed by adding the syllable "Kar" to the name of the village to which they at one time belonged, signifying in effect "resident of," thus the residents of the town of Nawgoon (the place mentioned in the beginning of the paper) were called Nawgawkar, etc. Although similar adoption of surnames has now

ceased, the Indianised Hebrew names are now also being laid aside.

A record of the history of the Beni-Israel is both baffling and difficult to follow, mostly on account of the peculiar nature of their surroundings. Although, as in other lands of the dispersion, no Ghetto walls enclosed them, nevertheless, in a land such as India, whose history is one dark record of bloodshed, pillage and strife, the hapless band of Israelites was blown this way and that by the fierce storm that raged round them, suffering the direst miseries that any remnant of Israel has suffered in any land, living only by the favour of the native rulers and at the mercy of a savage and uncultured populace, hardly daring to acknowledge their individuality, yet, holding themselves strictly aloof from their neighbours, drawn closer together by their common misfortunes. Thus they lived for many centuries, hearing and knowing nothing of the outside world, or of the fortunes of their brethren, held together by the memory of their former glories and the knowledge of their origin and ancestry.

That no writings are on record to chronicle the fate of the Beni-Israel is a great misfortune to ourselves, for I think it would have made very interesting reading, but in spite of it, it is not difficult to establish the fact that the Beni-Israel have always been Jews, never being influenced in any other direction however great their misfortunes.

In the long years of their isolation it is not likely that any member of the Beni-Israel ever left the main body of the Jews, and none ever left the shores of India. Their history, though as I have said, troublous and eventful for them, is but a passive one, and I shall now approach the most eventful epoch in the history of the Beni-Israel, the advent of David Rahabi. He came to India from Egypt 900 years ago (Rahab metaphorically is

Egypt, mentioned Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, and Is. li. 9). Having noticed that the manners, customs, religious rites, and ceremonies of the Beni-Israel were those of Jews, he examined them by giving them clean and unclean fish to be cooked together as a trial, but they separated the clean from the unclean, saying they never used fish that had neither fins nor scales. This account is to be found in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. III. Being convinced of their being genuine Israelites, David began to teach them the principles of the Jewish religion that had been forgotten by the Beni-Israel for want of books. He also taught Hebrew reading without translation. He was put to death two or three years after by a native chief. The members of the family of Rahabi are still to be found in Cochin, on the Malabar coast. It was very unfortunate for the Beni-Israel that his tenure of office was so brief and so tragically ended. However, his disciples served among them as officiating priests; they had authority superior to that of the Hazan, and had jurisdiction as chief priests and judges, and in those days they also decided the disputes that arose in the community. The impression made by the life and teachings of David Rahabi lasted long. This went on until they were visited by some of the members of the Jewish community from Cochin. They opened Sabbath schools in different towns where the Beni-Israel resided. One Hacham Shellomo devoted all his life in the interest of the Beni-Israel, combining many offices in one person, acting as preacher, expounder of the law, Mohel, Shochet, etc.

A curious coincidence may be related here in the manner of Shellomo's coming to the Beni-Israel, lending the story of his advent a strange atmosphere of romance, and almost, one may say, of Divine ordination. Before he reached the post where the Beni-Israel resided at the time, that is, while coming from Cochin to Bombay with his

grandfather, he was shipwrecked somewhere near the same place where the ancestors of the Beni-Israel met with a similar fate. After a long struggle in the water, he managed to reach the shores of Nawgaon, the same spot where the ancestors of the Beni-Israel found themselves after their shipwreck,—he was found lying on the shore in a most helpless condition by a Beni-Israel, one Jacob Aaron, who chanced to be passing. He carried Hacham Shellomo to his home, where he was restored to health. The grandfather was drowned, his corpse being found in the Bombay harbour. This incident occurred in the year 1836. Hacham Shellomo died on the 17th April, 1856, serving among the Beni-Israel for twenty years.

Under the favouring auspices of the British rule many changes have occurred for the Beni-Israel. A hundred years ago there would have been hardly a Beni-Israel to be found resident in Bombay or any other larger town of the Presidency. They were scattered among numerous villages to the south-east of Bombay. The Nineteenth Century has been a great era of change for India, with its many and varied classes, and with none so effective as with the Beni-Israel. The increased facilities of communication and travel have brought them more constantly into contact with others of the Jewish community. There have now sprung up in almost every town, places of worship, and in Bombay there are as many as seven synagogues and prayer halls, the first having been built by one Samuel Ezekiel Divekar in 1796.

The rise and spread of education in India had great influence upon them, yet, while they are in this condition of rapid progress, it is still possible to go into the ancient haunts of the Beni-Israel in villages and to find numbers of them still engaged in their former occupation. One noteworthy feature of the Beni-Israel must not be omitted. In the days, more especially of the East India Company,

many of the most valued native officers and privates were drawn from this community. At the time of the Indian Mutiny the Beni-Israel to a man stood faithful to the British rule. The earliest information of the impending outbreak of the Mutiny at Kolapur was given by a Beni-Israel officer named Moosaji Israel (*i.e.*, Moses Israel). Beni-Israel soldiers as a rule rose high in their regiments, becoming commissioned and non-commissioned officers, some possessing the title of the Order of India, or other decorations for good service and gallantry; but now soldiering has ceased to have any attraction for the Beni-Israel, as the old avenues to distinction in the army are largely closed to them by the modern system of what is known as "a promotion by caste return," which means that a soldier, however meritorious his services, has, nevertheless, small chance of promotion, unless at the same time the men of his caste form a considerable portion of the regiment; under such a system, a minority like the Beni-Israel have scarcely a chance of rising high in the service, and as a consequence their zeal for the army has almost died down. The Rev. J. H. Lord, in his contribution to the "Indian Church Quarterly Review," says, "The writer remembers an officer of a regiment writing to him to ask if he could not induce some Bene-Israel to join his regiment, as he formerly had experience of them in a previous regiment, and had found them a particularly useful class of men. On putting forward the notion to the Bene-Israel as desired, it failed to arouse any enthusiasm amongst those for whom it was intended."

With reference to the educational standards, the spread of schools, translations of standard works in Indian languages, the establishment of libraries, must certainly exercise an elevating influence on the race, and here I trust I may be pardoned for airing a long-standing grievance of the Beni-

Israel, and that is with regard to an educational institution known as the Israelite School, in which many English Jews have an interest.

The Beni-Israel have a school, supported by the Anglo-Jewish Association, which exercises absolute authority in its management, although it receives outside aid with regard to the finances from the Government and the community. I may say it has accomplished good work, but of recent years, I regret to state, the school has not realised that which it could have realised in different circumstances. It is true that a school of this description is essential for the welfare of the Beni-Israel. But certainly conducted as at present it does not in any way answer the purpose for which it was intended. Much can be done to improve the curriculum of education now in force at the school. The root of the trouble lies in the indifference of the Anglo-Jewish Association here. I am confident if the Association were to take pains to enquire into the matter more closely, far more satisfactory results would be arrived at, with infinite less expenditure, and the school would be much more beneficial for the Beni-Israel as a community.

The Beni-Israel present a high order of intelligence as compared with the other races that make up the sum total of the population of India. Moreover they are eager for development, and despite their centuries of isolation, verily as strangers in a strange land, amidst surroundings that were not by any means conducive to their mental, moral, or physical welfare, their contribution to modern Indian progress is remarkable in itself. All the nobler professions have worthy exponents in the members of the Beni-Israel; they rank high in the social status, in law, medicine, science, and literature. They have never excelled in the plastic and graphic arts, but this is not to be wondered at since such pursuits are con-

demned by Judaic law, and I do not doubt that any Beni-Israel, if he had yearnings towards the higher arts, would have received more ruthless discouragement from his surroundings even than those ordained by the ten commandments (thou shalt not make any graven image, or the likeness of anything, etc.).

I suppose it is a dispensation of Providence ordained for his preservation from the rough shocks dealt him by time, that the Jew, wherever fate casts him, quickly becomes inured to his surroundings, adopting the colours and characteristics of his neighbours, so that after a few generations in such environment, he is hardly distinguished, outwardly, from his neighbour. For who shall speak of the Jewish type? How admirably does Zangwill write of the various nationalities in his "Dreamers in Congress," when he takes survey of the types that are gathered in unison at the Zionist Congress. They are come from many places, from far lands and near, Pole, Hungarian, French, Dutch, and German, each presenting an individual type, superficially having nothing in common, yet linked together with that subtle instinct of exclusiveness that stamps ubiquitous Israel as the aristocrat of nations, whose line of descent has never been marred by influence of alien blood.

On these external matters perhaps it is not well to dwell much—the national consciousness of the Jew is always with him, whatever his tongue or colour, a lasting evidence of the survival of the fittest.

THE OPTIMISM OF THE BIBLE,

*A PAPER READ BEFORE THE
NORTH LONDON JEWISH LITERARY UNION, ON THE
15th OF DECEMBER, 1904,*

BY THE REV. D. WASSERZUG, B.A.

"To be or not to be?" That is the question which forms the subject of debate between two great schools of thought, or rather between two opposing currents of the human spirit, viz., Optimism and Pessimism. "Is life, generally speaking, good and desirable; or, on the other hand, is non-existence, on the whole, preferable to existence." Such indeed is the problem with which intelligent men have wrestled since the dawn of speculation. Philosophic optimism, undoubtedly, takes its rise from the theological view that the world with its countless manifestations of order and design, discloses the handiwork of an Almighty, Allwise, All-beneficent Creator, and in spite of some blots and imperfections, the fruit of man's own folly or perverseness, it still remains the best of all possible worlds. These blots and imperfections, which disturb the flow of human happiness, are partly the fruit of man's own planting, and partly are so insignificant that they are no more than the dust and chaff in the balance against the overwhelming preponderance of good. Life, therefore, is a gracious gift, which we ought gratefully to cherish. The great modern representative of this school was Leibnitz, to whom we owe the invention of the term "Optimism," and the phrase "the best of all possible worlds." Before him, Pierre Bayle, a learned Frenchman, had sought to account for the existence of evil by putting forward a theory of the world, which, to all intents and purposes, was only a restatement of the old Zoroastrian doctrine of Dualism. According to Bayle, God indeed was good, but the world was created not by Him, but by a power called the Demiurge, which, if not the prince of darkness himself, was very nearly related to him. Leibnitz' answer

to this theory was as follows:—"Our knowledge of the universe is so small that it is presumptuous for us to come to any general conclusion as to the Creator's dealings with his creatures. If we saw the whole plan, we should see chaos in the parts producing order in the whole, temporary and partial evil so arranged "that the best should arise from it." This statement of the case reminds us of Clough's pathetic lines:—

"We, what do we see? each a space
Of some few yards, before his face:
Does *that*, the whole wide plan explain?"

Human experience is limited to some 3,000 years' history of a part of one of the eight or nine worlds that revolve round one of the many thousand suns that travel, and have travelled through space. Is *that* an experience from which *valid* conclusions as to the designs of the Creator can be drawn?

Pope, who was a contemporary of Leibnitz was evidently greatly impressed by his arguments. His "Essay of Man" is to all intents and purposes merely a poetic setting of the Leibnitz philosophy.

"All nature is but art, unknown to thee,
All chance direction which thou canst not see;
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good,
And spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear, whatever is, is right."

A brilliant counterblast to the "best of all possible worlds" theory of Leibnitz and Pope, was Voltaire's "Candide." Under the mask of a flippant style and cynical air, the great Frenchman propounded a very sound philosophy of life. While ridiculing the rosy optimism of Leibnitz, he equally dissents from the hopeless pessimism of his countryman Pierre Bayle. In a poem on the Earthquake of Lisbon, by which his sympathies were profoundly stirred, he sums up his theory of life in a splendid poetic outburst, of which the

famous lines of Tennyson are, to all intents and purposes, nothing but a free translation.

"I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great World's altar stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God
I stretch lame hands of faith and grope
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope."

At the opposite pole of the Optimistic theory is the philosophy of life known as Pessimism, of which Schopenhauer and Eduard von Hartmann are the most illustrious representatives. To this school of thought, the sum total of sorrows in this world so greatly outweighs the sum total of joys, that life is practically nothing but a protracted woe. It is the mood expressed by Mephistopheles when he declared :—

"Alles was entsteht
Ist wert, dasz es zu Grunde geht,
Drum besser wär's dasz nichts entstünde."
"All things from the void
Called forth, deserve to be destroyed.
'Twere better then, were nought created."

It is a mood indeed which has flung its shadow across the literatures of every tongue, time and clime. The Greek poets are full of the desponding view of life. Evil, they declared, is wrapped up in Fate, and Fate dominates even the gods.

"The necessary ill will come,
Its fatal course no god can check,"

moans Megara in Euripides. And Homer sums it up in his philosophic way :—

"Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood :
The source of evil one, the one of good.
From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
Blessings to these, to those distributes ills ;
To most he mingles both ; the wretch decreed
To taste the bad unmixed is cursed indeed.
The happiest taste not happiness sincere,
But find the cordial draft is dashed with care."

—*Achilles to Priam.*

The Greeks on the whole appear to have made most of life, yet they tell the story of the mother who in the evening prayed to the gods to bestow upon her sons their most precious gift. Her prayer was answered, and in the morning she found her sons dead. So terrible was the burden of life to the Greek poet, Sophocles (Ed. Col., that he exclaimed: "it were best never to have been born, and next best to depart as soon as possible." Severus, the conqueror of Britain and of Israel, who had been everything from a common peasant to a victorious emperor, nevertheless declared that nothing was of any good. *Omnia fui, nihil expedit.* Abderrahman, the magnificent, the mighty Saracen victor, placed it on record that in his life he had had but fourteen happy days. The sainted monk, St. Bernard, whose life had been a consecration to God and man, nevertheless gave it as his opinion of human life, that its beginning was blindness, its continuance toil, its sum total emptiness. "*Initium calcitas, progressio labor, omnia vanitas.*" We hear the same groan of despair in Petrarch, "I see not what anything in the world can give me save tears." In Shakespeare, "Tired with all these, for restless death I cry." In Cowper,

"O for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumor of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful and successful war
Might never reach me more."

In Dryden:—

"When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat.
Yet fooled with hope, men favor the deceit;
Trust on and think to-morrow will repay;
To-morrow's falser than the former day."

In Byron:—

"Our life is a false nature: 'tis not in
The harmony of things:—this hard decree,
This ineradicable taint of sin,
This boundless upas, this all-blasting tree,

Whose root is earth, whose leaves and branches be
 The skies, which drain their plagues o'er men like dew —
 Disease, death, bondage—all the woes we see,
 And worse, woes we see not—which throb thro'
 The immedicable soul, with heartaches ever new."

In Shelley :

" I could lie down like a tired child,
 And weep away this life of care."

And again :—

" We look before and after,
 And pine for what is not,
 Our sincerest laughter
 With some pain is fraught,
 Our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought."

The mid-Victorian era could boast of two illustrious moralists, who divided the empire of novel literature between them. They knew the world well ; they had seen life in all its phases ; they were eminently successful ; they gained large wealth ; they were universally honored. One would have said that to these two, to Charles Dickens and Will Thackeray, life had given some of its best gifts. Yet, what was their estimate. " Life," said Dickens, " seems to me the saddest dream that was ever dreamed." " Vanitas Vanitatum," such are the words with which Thackeray ended his most famous work of fiction ; " which of us is happy in this world ? Which of us has his desires, or having it is satisfied ?" And Jewish literature, too, is frequently overcast with this spirit.

אין אדם יוצא מן העולם וחצי תאומו בידו :

No man, says the Midrash, departs this life with even half his wishes fulfilled. And commenting upon the verse **ויקרבו ימי ישראל למות** " The days of Israel drew nigh to die," the Midrash observes that our days are as a shadow on earth. But not even as a shadow of a wall or of a tree, which at least is fixed and permanent, but as the shadow

of a bird, which scarcely settles in its place before it flies away. Generally speaking, these utterances merely express a momentary outburst of impatience and petulance at the vanities and disappointments of the world, rather than a deliberate judgment on the value of life. Pessimism, as an established philosophical system, was practically non-existent till about the middle of the last century, when Schopenhauer constructed a philosophy out of the tears of things. It is to the transcendent literary talent of Schopenhauer, and in a lesser degree to that of Hartmann, that the spread and vogue of pessimism must be attributed. Nevertheless, the most beautiful and artistic dressing will not give life to a philosophy, if a framework of scientific truth be lacking. Hartmann, indeed, asserts that pessimism has already attained the degree of a scientific axiom, whose certitude increases with the increase of our knowledge. Whether we are prepared to concede this high claim or no, it is certain that it cannot be airily dismissed with a mere wave of the hand. And religion, in particular, is in duty bound to examine its pretensions—for this reason—because modern pessimism is based on a rejection of the God-idea and of the belief in immortality. The acceptance of the teachings of pessimism involves a denial of God and immortality. If pessimism is a true theory, then the difficulty of reconciling the existence of an all-wise and all-beneficent Creator, with the existence of evil, becomes simply insuperable, seeing that no other life is admitted in which the cruelty and injustice of this may be redressed. Buddhism cut the Gordian knot by the simple process of eliminating God altogether from its scheme of the world, and by recommending self-renunciation and self-obliteration in the eternal quiescence of Nirvana as a cure for pain. Parseeism sought to explain the mystery of evil by postulating two creators of almost equal power, Ormazd, the creator of light, and Ahriman,

the creator of darkness." And faced with the same problem, Christianity practically adopted Zoroaster's solution, by investing Satan or the Devil with absolute and autocratic power in the under-world of sin and evil. Of this dualistic conception of the universe, Judaism has been the steady and consistent opponent.

Addressing Cyrus, who was no doubt an adherent of the Parsee doctrine of Dualism, Isaiah exclaimed: "I am the Lord, and there is none else; I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I, the Lord, do all these things" (xlv. 7). God, then, is the Creator of evil. But how does Judaism reconcile the existence of evil with the goodness of God? What solution has it for the mystery of suffering? What is its teaching with regard to the value of life?

That Judaism taught an optimistic view of life is brought into striking relief by the fiery invective which it excited in the High Priest of Pessimism, Schopenhauer. To Schopenhauer, Judaism was anathema, *because* it was optimistic. Optimism he thought to discredit by attaching to it the epithet Jewish.

Apart, however, from its influence on Schopenhauer's temperament, it is clear that the God-idea which underlies the Jewish conception of the world postulates an optimistic view of life. The very first chapter of Genesis declares: "And God saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good." And long before Leibnitz, many Rabbis had extolled this world as the best of all *possible* worlds. (Ber. R. 9.) But if the Creator is so delighted with His work, why has He exposed the crown of all His works—man—to toil and suffering; man, the most splendid triumph of His creative mind? The story of the fall

* "According to Zeno, the stoic, who formed his views after the Ephesian Heraclitus, introduced into his primordial matter a dynamic antagonist, and a movement of fluctuation up and down."—*Grote I.*, 513.

which follows close on the story of the creation is the primitive Jewish explanation of the mystery of suffering. Suffering is the correlative of sin. The misery of the human race is the fruit of man's first disobedience. Suffering, therefore, is not God's work, but man's work. Sin, indeed, is rebellion against God. But man could not rebel if he were not a free agent. Free will is therefore inextricably interwoven with the Jewish theory of sin and suffering. That man is a free agent is tacitly assumed throughout the Bible and Rabbinic teaching. It is the abuse of this divine gift of freewill which is the fertile parent of all the ills which flesh is heir to. Suffering, then, is the consequence of disobedience to God's ordinances. And this is just the explicit teaching of the law. "Behold I set before you this day," says Deut. xii. 26, "a blessing and a curse; a blessing if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God, and a curse if ye will not obey them." To the ancient mind prosperity was as much the reward of piety as adversity was the penalty of wrong-doing. But the experiences of life, which were constantly giving the lie to this notion, had given a rude shock to this belief already in Moses' time. The great prophet prays, "Show me now Thy ways, I beseech Thee, that I may understand why the righteous are pursued by misfortune, whereas the wrong-doers revel in plenty."^a The same perplexing problem presents itself to Jeremiah. "Thy righteousness, O Lord, is too high; I cannot attain unto it. But yet let me reason the case with Thee. Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they secure that deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit" (xii. 12). The seed of doubt sown by this apparently inexplicable riddle of the prosperity of the wicked and the misery of the good, seems to have borne an only too abundant

^a Vayikra Rabba. Berachot, 7. a.

harvest of backsliding and apostacy; for we find the last prophet, Malachi, repeating with indignant sarcasm the prevailing sentiment of his day. "It is vain to serve God, and what profit is it that we have kept His ordinances; and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord? For do we not see the proud happy, and they that work wickedness securely established, yea, they that tempt God, in prosperity?" (iii. 13.).

Even the Psalmist, in spite of his absolute self-surrender and the resignation of his spirit in the justice of God, is torn with doubt at the world's constant proofs of the triumph of wrongdoing and the enthronement of evil. "My tears," he laments, "have been meat day and night, while the presumptuous say unto me Where is thy God," xlii. 3, and the solution, which the Psalmist gives of this ever-baffling problem marks a forward stage in the development of the Jewish idea of "Retribution." "Only the brutish man knoweth not, and the fool understandeth not, why the wicked spring up as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity do flourish. *It is that they shall be destroyed for ever.*" Here we have an unmistakable testimony to the invincible craving of the soul for another life, where the wrongs of this world shall be readjusted. Not being wholly bad, the wicked man receives his reward for his few good deeds already in this world; hence his prosperity. But his punishment is that he is cut off altogether from the bliss of the future. On the other hand, the righteous man expiates his few evil deeds already in this life, hence his misfortunes.^a But his recompense will come to him in the future existence which is his appointed reward.^b

**בשם שנפרעין לרשעים בעולם הבא כך נפרעין מן הצדיקים
בעולם הזה: Taanith ii.**

**הקב"ה מביא יסורים על צדיקים בעולם הזה כדי שיראו עולם הבא
Perachot 6.**

The good fortune of the bad man and the bad fortune of the good man are perfectly visible to all eyes, whereas their respective rewards and punishments are awarded "behind the veil." Hence the brutish and ignorant are puzzled and understand not. Not so, however, the wise, to whom these truths have been revealed. They know that the righteous shall flourish like the palm tree and grow like a cedar of Lebanon. They know that the chief reward of the righteous is that having been planted in the house of the Lord, they shall flourish in His courts. Such for one is R. Akiba's explanation of the famous Sabbath Psalm. Indeed, so fair and enchanting are the glories of the future life, that compared with them the glories of the present state sink into insignificance. Hence the Psalmists are never tired of preaching the vanity and transitoriness of earthly joys. "Be not afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased, for at his death he shall carry nothing away, his glory shall not descend after him" (xlix.).

This concentrating of all one's hopes in the future at the expense of the present, must inevitably lead to an undervaluing and depreciation of the beauties of the earthly life. Hence echoes of a pessimistic mood resound again and again in the Psalms: "The days of our years are threescore and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off and we fly away." And this desponding note is struck with still more emphasis in the famous Psalm which signalises the outgoing of the Sabbath. Commencing "Blessed be the Lord my rock, which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight. My loving-kindness and my fortress, my stronghold and my deliverer, my shield, and he in whom I take refuge: who subdueth my people under me," this impassioned outburst of enthusiasm suddenly dissolves into tears at the reflection, "What is man that thou regardest him, and the son of man that thou

takest account of him. Man is like a breath, his days are as a shadow which passeth away" (Ps. cxliv.).

But perhaps in no book of the Bible, nay of the world's literature, is the problem of suffering presented in so inspiring and comprehensive a form as in the book of Job, of which Heine once said that it was the great medicine store-house for sick humanity. Die grosse Hausapotheke für die Kranke Menschheit. Satan, as you remember, contends that no man does good for its own sake, but only in the hope for a reward. In reply, the Almighty refers him to his servant Job, and grants Satan permission to test the hero by means of suffering. Blow after blow of the most crushing kind descends upon him; his whole family is exterminated in one day; his wealth is taken from him; and finally he is smitten with a foul disease; but in spite of these overwhelming calamities he remains steadfast, his only exclamation being, "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord." When his wife reproaches him for his patience, he scathes her with the rebuke, "Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh. What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil." Only when his three friends come to comfort him does he give vent to his pent-up feelings. He curses the day of his birth, and craves passionately for death. But unto God he says, "Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul; which long for death and dig for it more than for hid treasures, which rejoice even to exultation when they can find the grave." The friends of Job now exert themselves to justify the ways of God, and starting from the orthodox principle that suffering is the correlative of sin, (אין מיתה בלא חטא ואין יסורין בלא עון;) ^a hint at some deadly crime which Job must have secretly committed. Yet the reader, who has been taken

^a There is no death without sin, or affliction without iniquity.

behind the scenes, knows that he is absolutely innocent. It is clearly, therefore, the object of the author of the poem to combat the traditional teaching which links misfortune with sin. If suffering is not the fruit of iniquity what then is its significance? A new explanation of this problem is put forward by a fourth friend, Elihu, who argues that physical pain is a spiritual discipline; trials and afflictions are sent upon man to purify the soul. This idea finds expression in the well-known proverb, "Whom God loveth, He chasteneth." The prologue, however, suggests another explanation, that suffering is a test and confirmation of character. The idea, however, that God tries men in order to test their character, is a reflection on His omniscience. Trials are sent to strengthen the soul, to supply the spiritual food for the building up and development of character. They are not for God's satisfaction, but for man's good. In a word they are soul-nutrients. (See More Nebuchim *iii. 24*. **דע כי כל נסיון שבא בתורה אין כוונתו ועניינו אלא כדי שידעו בני אדם מה שצריך להם לעשותו ומה שראו להאמינו**.)

Browning has exactly hit the idea in the lines :

"Why comes temptation but for man to meet
And master and make crouch beneath his feet,
And so be pedestalled in triumph."

The concluding scene contains God's summing up of the debate from out of the whirlwind. This, then, should give us a key to the solution of the question. But as a matter of fact it does nothing of the sort. It is one of God's silences, not one of His revelations. The burden of the drama is we cannot fathom the mind of the Divine Ruler of the world, that God's thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor our ways as His ways; that the elemental forces of nature furnish abundant testimony to a moral order which

* Berachot, 5a. **יסורין ממרקין עונותיו של אדם**

is founded on perfect justice and directed by perfect wisdom. More than this it is not necessary for us to know. As for the mystery of evil, that must remain a mystery. The idea that suffering is a test of character is still more strongly enforced in the Apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. "As gold is tried in the fire so acceptable men are tried in the furnace of humiliation" (ii. 5). The Book of Wisdom, which was written by an Alexandrian Jew, and was therefore influenced by Greek speculation, puts forward a characteristically Platonic view of the origin of evil. "God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of His own proper being. But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof" (ii. 24). Here clearly we have a foreshadowing of the Christian doctrine that evil is the invention of the devil. But returning to the Bible proper, we find in one of the prophetic books yet another attempt to solve this enigma. It was felt even before the time of the first exile, that something more was required for the stilling of doubt beyond belief in the infinite greatness of God, and the unsearchableness of His ways among men. And a great prophet had put forward a different solution of the same problem. In the dying days of the kingdom of Judah, Habakuk, beholding the apparent triumph of the wicked, and oppressed with doubt as to the possibility of reconciling this fact with his faith in the goodness of God, had passionately sought for the removal of his difficulty. "Upon my watch-tower I will stand, and take my post on the rampart. I will watch to see what He will say to me, and what answer I get to my plea." "How long, O God, have I called and Thou hearest not?" And down from his watch-tower the prophet had brought back his answer. "The just shall live by his faith." Only by *faith* that God is not simply great but "all loving too" can the seeker after righteousness find adequate motive in

his effort after a personal and universal good. And the effort called forth by the acceptance of this faith will re-act on his belief itself, until gradually, but continually, the darkness is lightened, and the burden of doubt rolls away. This position of the prophet of Israel is substantially the one adopted by the great poet of the nineteenth century. How can we believe that this life with its dread machinery of sin and sorrow is indeed directed by a loving and allwise God? And Tennyson's answer is: We must trust in the goodness of God; trust in God as our Father, who will hear our cry, though we be as children "crying in the night," trust—

"That somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill.
That nothing walks with aimless feet:
That not one life shall be destroyed
Or cast as rubbish to the void
When God hath made the pile complete."

Though the vision tarry, wait thou for it; because it will surely come; it will not tarry; but the just shall live by faith. We have but faith; we cannot know—

For knowledge is of things we see;
And yet we trust it comes from Thee
A beam in darkness.

Still another solution of this problem is offered in one of the philosophical books of the Bible, which forms a striking contrast to the great bulk of the rest of the sacred volume in that we perceive in it a long sustained undertone of pessimistic feeling. Koheleth makes it his task to study life in all its many-sided aspects, and to assess, if possible, the amount of happiness it yields. The result of his prolonged investigation is stated at the very head of his essay, "Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas." What profit hath a man of all his labor which he taketh under the sun. The earlier books of the Bible merely call in question the difficulty of reconciling goodness with affliction. Ecclesiastes

goes much farther than this. He questions the utility of existence altogether. The ancient Greeks pictured the golden age in the primitive past; the Jewish prophets looked for it in the distant future. Koheleth dismisses both views with a gesture of contempt. No age of human life, as it is constituted, can be golden or even silver. "Say not that the former days were better than these: for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this" (vii., 10). On the other hand, the future will be no better than the past, for "the thing which hath been, it is that which shall be; there is no new thing under the sun" (i. 9). Koheleth is no arm-chair philosopher, who contemplates the world from his study window. On the contrary, he weaves the fabric of his philosophy from the strands of an unusually rich and varied experience. He first seeks happiness in the pleasures of the senses, but finds them nothing but a vanity and a feeding upon wind. He next turns for solace to wisdom; but finding that science fails to unlock for him the riddles of birth, life, and death (viii. 17), he concludes that wisdom is a pure illusion, a sore travail which God hath given to the sons of men to afflict them therewith. Nay, the more one knows, the keener is the anguish at not being able to know more. "Truly in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow." Koheleth next looks for a talisman against the cares of life in work. "Sweet is the sleep of the labouring man," he argues, "whether he have little or much; but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep." Such, too, apparently, is the teaching of Göethe, who in the second book of *Faust*, pictures his hero as seeking to atone for the crimes and miseries of his life by devoting himself to useful labour. "There is nothing better," says Koheleth, "than that a man should rejoice in his own work; for that is his portion." Unfortunately Koheleth finds that the fruits of labour are the fertile parents of jealousy and envy among men. Conse-

quently, even work fails as a complete source of happiness. Moreover, looking around him, Koheleth sees injustice and iniquity usurping the place of righteousness. He sees oppression enthroned in the high places, and the persecuted in tears, but without a comforter. He sees the just man perishing in his righteousness, and the wicked man prolonging his life in his wickedness. In such a world as this, sorrow seems to Koheleth more becoming than laughter, and going to the house of mourning more fitting than going to the house of feasting. Bitter indeed must have been Koheleth's disappointment with life, which could wring from him an utterance such as this: "Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive, and better than both is he who hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil which is done under the sun" (iv. 2-3). Here surely we have the very climax of pessimistic feeling.

With such pronounced opinions on the meanness and emptiness of life, how is it possible for Koheleth yet to maintain his belief in an allwise and all-beneficent Creator? And yet the two thoughts exist in harmony in his mind. Turning away from the world of man, Koheleth directs his gaze on the world of nature, which everywhere reveals a perfect harmony and a divine plan. "God hath made everything beautiful in his time," observes the philosopher. "yea, even man He hath made *upright*, but they have sought out many devices," (vii. 29). Man's folly and perversity are the chief causes of his miseries. "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves that we are underlings." Had he more wisdom, he would have less grief, but surely not all calamity is deserved; not all misfortune is the fruit of man's own wilfulness. What hope does Koheleth give for the vindication of goodness and the righting of the world's wrongs? For the consummation of God's justice, Koheleth, like the Psalmists, bids us look to another world.

"God shall judge the righteous and the wicked, for he hath set a time there for every purpose and for every work," (iii. 17), "when the dust shall return to the earth as it was ; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

Thus, in order to reconcile his pessimism with the divine government of the world, Koheleth assumes that this earthly life is but a station, a temporary halting-place in the unending march of existence. The hope in the hereafter not only atones for the miseries of this life, but invests it with dignity and importance, and sets before it a noble purpose. Thus, in spite of his despondent mood, Koheleth can hardly be described as a pessimist, since his picture of the ultimate hope of man's destiny is so bright and promising. Notwithstanding the few strains in a minor key, which resound at times throughout the pages of the Old Testament, its dominant note is one of joy and cheerfulness.^a This spirit was undoubtedly the child of faith, the outcome of a perfect trust in God, who rules his world with a beneficent purpose. If it depicts life as full of troubles, it portrays life as full of *victory* over troubles. If clouds that overhang men often seem black and sullen, in the very heart of the cloud "springs the bow of Hope." Expressions of despondency, bordering on despair, serve only to throw into greater relief the unconquerable faith in a living God, a faith echoed again and again in prophetic and Psalmist utterance.

"What is man that Thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man, that Thou takest thought of him?"

moans the Psalmist, but his answer is an exultant paean of triumph. "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands; Thou hast put all things under his feet." As Smend, in his *Religions-Geschichte*, says: "Joy was the dominant note

^a As Wünsche points out, no language possesses so many words for joy as Hebrew.

of the old Hebrew cult, because it expressed the union of God with His people." Hence, again and again, Israel is enjoined to fulfil his religious rites with joy. "Serve the Lord with joy, come before Him with songs of gladness." "Rejoice in thy feasts and thou shalt be altogether joyful." "Call the Sabbath a delight," counselled Isaiah, lviii. 13, a counsel which was so faithfully interpreted in Jewish life, that the Sabbath indeed became the gem of days.

Without question the proverbial cheerfulness of the Jew has its source and inspiration in his unquenchable faith in the high destiny which has been reserved for him by a beneficent providence. The Jewish temperament is marked by seriousness, but it is a seriousness that is devoid of the bitterness of disappointment. The broken notes of the ram's horn were not the echoes of hearts torn by incurable anguish, of souls drooping for want of sunlight. The Jew never ceased to hope to hear even in this world the trumpet call of the archangel proclaiming the hour of his triumph. The deliverer was to come some day, in order to set everything right. This explains why for centuries the Jew was able to bear such a burden of contempt without breaking down beneath its weight. The mainspring of his inner life was not broken; it remained intact, ready to be set in motion on the day of deliverance. The inspiring admonition of the prophet has been his watchword throughout the ages. "Turn you unto the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope" (Zech. ix. 12). "Because he has at all times waited upon the Lord, he has renewed his strength like the eagle; he has run and not been weary; he has walked and not been faint" (Is. xl. 31).

In the Biblical conception of joy, over-indulgence and licence were absolutely eliminated. Nowhere in the Old Testament does pleasure degenerate into licence. Jewish teaching invariably couples joy with earnestness **נִילוּ בְרַעְדָּה**

"Rejoice with trembling" (Ps. c). The happiness inculcated in the Bible was not the gross hedonism of the Greeks, but a spiritual delight in the fulfilment of those ordinances which united the Jew in spiritual fellowship with God.^a His love of life by no means excluded the thought of the happiness of others. He was to include his manservant and maidservant, the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, in his festive rejoicing (Deut. xvi. 14). His purest fount of joy was in giving joy to others. Life being a blessing, and a thing sacred to God, to prolong it as much as possible was considered a duty. Hence the frequent promises of long life as a reward for good-doing.

כבר את אביך The irrepressible optimism of the ancient Hebrews was deepened and strengthened by the consciousness that they had been chosen as the instruments of the divine purpose. Whenever the facts of experience seemed to conflict with the teachings of faith, the Hebrew took refuge in the eventual establishment of a kingdom of heaven, **מלכות שמים** where divine justice would be meted out according to individual desert. To the ancient Israelite, earth was not grey but rosy. He was firmly persuaded that "a sun would pierce the thickest cloud earth ever stretched." He was one who never turned his back, but marched breast forward.

"Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamt, tho' right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held—we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."
—*Epilogue to Asolando*.

^a The Shechina rests not on the greivous in-spirit, but on those who rejoice in the performance of their religious duties.

אין השכינה שורה לא מתוך עצבות ולא מתוך עצלות ולא
Sabbath job

מתוך שחוק ••••• אלא מתוך דבר שמחה של מצוה:

Hence the prohibition of the descendents of Aaron to attend to the obsequies of the dead. Those engaged in the service of God were not to darken their spirits with thoughts of mourning. See also Yalkut Ps. iii.

The Talmud, as might have been expected, reflects the optimism of the Bible, though in a lesser degree. This is not surprising when we consider that optimism and pessimism are in reality moods or emotional tendencies, which, of course, would be greatly influenced by political circumstances. And bearing in mind that the Talmud was wrought into a system at a time when the shadows of persecution were falling thick and fast on the people, it is clear why the minor key should resound in its pages more frequently than in the pages of the Bible. Nevertheless, the tendency of Talmudic teaching is emphatically optimistic. "Nothing," said R. Jehuda, "that God has created has been created in vain."^a Sublime faith in Providence finds repeated expression. "The Creator of the day will provide its wants."^b After the destruction of the Temple, several Rabbis refused to partake any more of meat and wine, because they were no longer brought as offerings on God's altar. R. Jochanan ben Zaccai asked them what justification they had for their self-renunciation: and they pointed to the altar in ruins. "Then," rejoined R. Jochanan, "you ought to abstain also from eating bread and drinking water, for these were also brought on the altar. "Brethren," continued the Rabbi, "you ought not to forget the Sanctuary, but that is no reason why you should renounce the world and its fruits." Ascetic practices, indeed, found little favour in the eyes of the Rabbis. The phrase, "Ye shall live by them," *i.e.*, the Commandments, they interpreted, but not die through them. Ben Goma asserted: "The whole world has been created only for man's pleasure." Sabb. 30b. The man who took upon himself the vow of a Nazarite was commanded to bring a

אמר ר' יהודה כל מה שברא הקב"ה בעולמו

לא ברא דבר אחר לבטלה

מי שברא יום ברא פרנסתו (Mechilta xvi, 4).

sin-offering (Numbers vi. 2-20). Why so? Because he had to make atonement for having deliberately renounced the pleasures of life (Nazir 19a, 22a). The monkish view of the hopeless corruptness of the world was utterly repugnant to the Jewish spirit. Life was given for enjoyment, not for martyrdom (Is. xlv. 18). Commenting on Prov. xi. 17, "The merciful man doeth good to his soul, but he that is cruel humbleth his own flesh," Gersonides denied that Judaism enjoined the mortification of the body for the good of the soul. Rabbinic teaching on the joy of life generally maintains a high level, but not a few Rabbis sounded a lower note.¹ "Take and eat," said R. Samuel to Rav Judah, who both belonged to the third century, "for the world, which we shall have to quit, resembles a wedding banquet." Still more remarkable is the observation of their great contemporary, R. Abba Aricha.² "My son, if thou possessest aught, neglect not thyself, for in the grave there is no enjoyment, and death waits for no man. If thou thinkest to leave aught to thy children, who in the other life will be surety for thee? Man is like the grass of the field—to-day he flourishes, to-morrow withers away." In spite of occasional lapses, the Rabbinic conception of life was singularly lofty and generally optimistic. The pessimistic school, however, did not surrender their position without a struggle. For two-and-a-half years the schools of Hillel and Shammai debated the question of the worth

שננא חטוף אכול חטוף אשתי דעלמא דאולינן כניה הללא דמי:

Erubim, 5b.

¹ אם יש לך היטב לך כי אין בשאול תענוג ואין למות התמהמה ואם תאמר אניח לבני ולבנותי חוק בשאול מי יגיד לך?
בני אדם דומים לעשבי השדה הללו נוצצין והללו נובלין:

Erubim, 5b.

of life. The Hillelites declared in favour of existence, their opponents adopting the negative. Finally a vote was taken, and the debate was decided in favour of the school of Hillel.

בית ש' נוח לו לאדם שלא נברא יותר משנברא : ב'ה נוח לו לאדם שנברא יותר משלא נברא :

"Whatever God has created, He has created for a blessing," is a well-known Talmudic maxim. Berachot 60 b. **כל דעביר רחמנא לטב עבד :** Beloved is suffering, they argued, for by it God manifests His fatherly love for His creatures. By it man becomes purified and secures atonement; by it Israel gained his most precious gifts: the Torah, the Holy Land, and Eternal life. **תהיבין יסורין שכשם קרבנות מרצין כך יסורין מרצים :**

Sifri § 32. **ואתחנן**

And again: "Beloved is suffering for it links man's heart with God." **יסורין מושכין לב האדם להקב"ה :** "Afflictions propitiate the divine favour." The Rabbis were fervent believers in the disciplinary influence of suffering. They not infrequently even explained the mystery of evil by the doctrine of vicarious atonement. "The death of the righteous serves as an atonement." **מיתת צדיקים מכפרת** (Maccoth 11b).

And again; Lev. R. § 15: **הצדיקים לוקים בעון הדור : הצדיקים נתפסים בעון הדור אין צדיקים בדור תינוקות של בית**

רבן נתפסים : Sabbath 33b

"The righteous bear the penalty of the sins of their generation." But the usual Rabbinic view of suffering was in the light of a school or training ground of character. Affliction they argued, is merely another name for education. It was they who coined the phrase **יסורין של אהבה** "Chastisements of love." With wonderful spiritual insight they anticipated the modern conception of evil as the birth-pangs of good. This idea is vividly brought home in a

beautiful legend. There was once a great wonder-working Rabbi to whom all spirits were subject, for he possessed the magic ring of Solomon. This wise and good Rabbi was the misery wrought in the world by the **יצר הרע** "the spirit of evil," how at one time it assumed the shape of a serpent, and beguiled the mother of all mankind to disobey God's commandment, how again it appeared as the angel of death, and then again as the immemorial enemy Satan, bringing ruin, woe, and calamity everywhere in its train. The Rabbi could no longer endure to behold the immeasurable evil wrought by this mischievous spirit, and he resolved to make it his prisoner. This he succeeded in doing; and he confined the turbulent thing in a cave, which he sealed with the seal of Solomon. And now the world was free from evil. But behold! the mighty machinery of nature stood still; its motive force was gone; the winds ceased to blow; the rivers stopped in their courses; the stars in heaven came to a standstill; a stillness as of death reigned throughout nature. All motion was suspended; all force was crippled; all will power was broken; a leaden sleep sank upon the earth. Torn with anguish, the Rabbi prayed to God for help; and the divine voice resounded through the immeasurable all. "Woe unto him that striveth with his maker! Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work, he hath no hands," Isaiah xlv. 9. "Go, loose the chains of thy captive, for without the spirit of evil, the world cannot endure."

The spirit of evil is the mother of all effort and enterprise, and were evil to be extinguished, all beauty, culture, progress, art, science, industry and invention would die too. Goethe clearly had this idea in mind when he made Mephistopheles say—

"Ich bin ein Teil von jener Kraft
Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft."

Discordant notes are as essential to the music of life as

harmonious notes. Deep and dark colours are as needful to the beauty of a garment as bright and high colours. The bitter ingredients in a draught are just those which produce its most grateful and exhilarating effects. Evil is the fertile parent of all life and thought. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as evil, according to Jewish teaching. Evil is only good in disguise. Happiness is the child of sorrow. Pain contains within it the seed of pleasure. Beauty, culture, progress are all the fruit of suffering and affliction. It is the hand of God that weaves the pattern which He requires in the web of noble lives, and thus even by those dispensations which seem most afflictive He is preparing us so that we may best do His work, which is or ought to be our own.

“ It was, as it still is, *the pain of bliss*,
To move to breathe, to be.”

—SHELLEY, *Prometheus Unbound*.

When everything has been said and done, Optimism and Pessimism are largely the fruit of temperament rather than of settled conviction. The palm, rearing its head aloft to heaven, will, if it were animate, be captivated by the starry splendour of the azure deep. The weeping willow, drooping its head amid the earth's garbage, will realise only the dull squalor and sordidness of the world. “ Man is born unto anguish as the sparks fly upward ;” but we shall be able the better to endure this anguish when we realise that it is a stepping stone, upon which we rise from our dead selves to higher things. We are told that while yet the waters of the deluge weighed upon the drowning world, the dove flew back to the ark, and lo ! in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off. The olive leaf is bitter, but it is a sign of peace ; and the Talmud tells us (*Sanhedrin* 108, b) : that the dove said, before the Holy One, “ Lord of the Universe, let my food be as bitter as an olive, yet when delivered by

Thy hand, it becomes sweet as honey." If the plucked leaf which the dove bears to us from God in heaven seem bitter to us, yet none the less it is a leaf of the Tree of Life ; a green leaf from that tree whose leaves are for the healing of the world.

UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES

COUNCIL 1904-1905.

President.—LUCIEN WOLF.

<i>Past Presidents.</i>	| ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.
	| PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ.
<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	| C. G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.
	| The Rev. S. SINGER.
	DR. S. A. HIRSCH.

Hon. Chairman.—DR. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

Hon. Treasurer.—A. S. FRANKLIN.

Council.

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Secretary.—Miss N. KLINGENSTEIN, 127, Middlesex Street, E.

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I. ABRAHAMS, M.A.	LEON SIMON, B.A.
B. M. BENJAMIN.	

THE Council, in opening the Third Annual Report of the Union, records with profound sorrow the great bereavement the Union, in common with the whole of Jewry, has sustained by the death of Mr. Frederic David Mocatta. Of the many spheres in which Mr. Mocatta shone, not the least was that in which he displayed his devotion to Jewish Science. Throughout his life, no Jewish literary movement arose in England without his assistance, and the Union in common with all its fellow organisations has to deplore, in his death, the loss of a great benefactor. The Union, at its inauguration, received the sympathy and the encouragement of Mr. Mocatta. He was one of the chairmen at the first Conference, and he further associated himself with that occasion by giving a reception to a large gathering of delegates and friends. In subsequent years he continually showed a deep personal interest in the work and welfare of the Union, and his last appearance in public was at the annual dinner in June 1904.

The year under review opened on the 26th of June, 1904, with the Third Annual Conference, at which thirty-seven societies—twenty-one Metropolitan and sixteen Provincial—were represented. In the previous year the societies represented numbered twenty-seven—sixteen Metropolitan and eleven Provincial. The Conference, which consisted of

two sessions, was opened by Dr. M. Friedländer, the Hon. Chairman, who delivered an address of welcome. The first paper dealt with "The Policy of the Literary Society." The author was Mr. E. Lawrence Levy, and the paper was read by him, under the chairmanship of Mr. P. J. Hartog, B.Sc. The remainder of the morning session was devoted to the discussion of a paper entitled "Literature and Life," read by Mr. Israel Abrahams, M.A. Mr. C. G. Montefiore, M.A., occupied the chair, and was enabled to extend a welcome to Dr. Kaufman Kohler, Principal of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, on the occasion of his first appearance before an Anglo-Jewish audience. The afternoon session, at which the chair was occupied by Prof. I. Gollancz, the retiring President, was devoted to a consideration of the report and balance-sheet, and to the transaction of other business. By the adoption of a series of resolutions, proposed on behalf of the Executive Committee, the constitution of the Union was considerably elaborated. In the evening the delegates and friends, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, dined together in the Wharncliffe Rooms of the Hotel Great Central, under the chairmanship of Prof. I. Gollancz. The principal toast, that of the Union, was proposed by the Chairman.

The precedent set at the Summer Assembly, held at Ramsgate, in August, 1903, was followed last summer by a similar gathering in the same town. In order to enable Dr. Emil Hirsch, of Chicago, U.S.A., to be present, the Assembly was postponed until August 20th-26th. The Assembly was opened with a special sermon preached by the Rev. G. S. Belasco. The following evening the secular inauguration took place, an eloquent address being delivered by Dr. Emil Hirsch, who was introduced, on his first official visit to England, by the President of the Union, Mr. Lucien Wolf. During the week addresses were given by Mr. Israel Abrahams, M.A. (*Jewish Wayfaring Life*

in the Middle Ages), Professor I. Gollancz (Drama and the Bible), the Rev. Morris Joseph (The Introduction to the *Rokeach*), Mr. Elkan N. Adler, M.A. (The Romance of Hebrew Printing), and Dr. S. A. Hirsch (A Survey of Jewish Literature). The successive Chairmen during the week were :—Mr. Lucien Wolf, Prof. I. Gollancz, Mr. R. Sebag-Montefiore, the Rev. G. S. Belasco, Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, and the Rev. S. Levene. On the morning of Friday, the 26th of August, the concluding session was held, when the speakers included the Rev. Dr. J. Chotzner. The thanks of the Union are due in an especial degree to Dr. Emil Hirsch, for his address, and to the other lecturers, as well as to the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Community, who, as in the previous year, generously placed Montefiore College at the disposal of the Union.

The opening of the Winter Session of the Metropolitan Constituent Societies was preceded by a meeting of the Union, held by kind permission of the Principal of University College in the Botanical Theatre of that Institution. This meeting was held on September the 26th, 1904. An address was delivered by the President. Professor I. Gollancz was in the chair.

In order to bring the executive of the Union into closer touch with the constituent societies and their officers, a meeting was held in London on the 30th of October, to which the officers of the constituent societies and the members of the council were invited. The object of the meeting was to discuss the policy of the Union, and the best means of assisting the constituent societies in their work. In furtherance of the same policy it has been decided to convene for next September a meeting of the secretaries of the societies, at which the secretaries of the Union will attend. It is hoped that other opportunities for co-operation will be found.

In addition to the Ramsgate gathering, members and ex-members of the Council visited and lectured before constituent societies at Bristol, Glasgow (twice), Manchester (three times), Merthyr, Newport, and Ramsgate.

Each year the opportunities for the formation of additional literary societies become fewer in consequence of the work done in that direction in the past. During the year under review only one society, that at Nottingham, owed its foundation to any extent to the initiative of the Union. It is to be regretted that, despite the efforts made by the Council, the Liverpool community still lacks a literary society. Efforts, hitherto fruitless, have also been made to induce the establishment of a similar society in Hull. Three new societies have joined the Union during the year. In the Metropolitan district the Students' Jewish Literary and Debating Society became a constituent of the Union. Nottingham was the recruit from the provinces. In the Colonies, the example of Melbourne has been followed by the Sydney Jewish Literary and Debating Society. The adhesion of this last-named society is especially welcomed.

Numerous lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Union at the constituent Lads' and Girls' Clubs. The lantern slides of the Union have been much in request at these meetings. A series of readings in Jewish History and Biblical Subjects were given during the winter at the Butler Street Girls' Club by a member of the Council (Mr. Maurice Myers), who also helped to arrange periodical debates among the members.

The East End Committee endeavoured to make arrangements to bring the constituent societies in the East End under one roof. It was not found possible to meet the requirements of all the societies, but the matter is still under consideration. The Committee was approached by a body whose aim is to combat the evils of conversionist

activity in East London. The Committee has readily promised its co-operation and that of the local societies in the establishment and management of reading-rooms, the holding of lectures, and other work which appeared to come within the scope of the Union.

During the year the Union has issued two publications. At the close of June, 1904, the second issue of the "Jewish Literary Annual" was published, and met with as favourable a reception as its predecessor. The Council has decided to distribute copies of the 1905 edition free to the members of the constituent societies. The list of the Union's lecturers has undergone revision, and has been re-issued to the Societies as publication No. 9. The services of the ladies and gentlemen whose names appear in the list have been very extensively used, and several applications have been received for the loan of the papers placed at the disposal of the Union by distinguished Jews resident abroad. The collection of lantern slides illustrative of incidents and objects of Jewish interest has been still further extended, and now includes nearly six hundred slides. Sets have been completed illustrative of the following subjects: the Jews of Rome, Judas Maccabaeus and the Apocrypha, Maimonides and the Jews of Spain, Menasseh ben Israel, Palestine, Passover and the Exodus, Pre-Expulsion Anglo Jewry, Purim, and the Temple. By combining slides from various sets others can be built up. A classified list of the slides is in course of preparation. The preparation of explanatory notes for each set of slides has been commenced, so that the pictures may be used to the best advantage. During the past winter fifteen loans of various sets of slides have been made to constituent societies, including five to provincial societies, and several to Girls' and Lads' Clubs and Jewish Schools. The work of the Union in this direction could be greatly extended if it possessed a lantern of its own.

The question of finance has troubled the Council considerably during the past year, and it has been found that in order adequately to carry on the work with which the Council has been entrusted, the ordinary income of the Union must be supplemented. In these circumstances it was decided to bring the work of the Union under the notice of those ladies and gentlemen who have displayed an interest in the intellectual welfare of the Community. As a result £193 15s. 6d. has been received in the form of donations to the Union's funds. The normal expenditure of the Union has been increased during the year by the renting of an office and the engagement of a permanent secretary. Both these steps were rendered absolutely necessary by the increase of the business of the Union and of the calls it made upon the time of its officers. Miss N. Klingenstein has been elected secretary, and by the efficient discharge of her multifarious duties has aided materially in the management of the Union during her term of office. The Council at the opening of the year appointed Mr. Frederic S. Franklin treasurer, an office that had not been filled at the Annual Conference. It also used the opportunity furnished by the occurrence of vacancies to co-opt as members of its body Miss Buena Pool, B.Sc., and Mr. B. M. Benjamin, the services of both of whom have proved of value. The Council has to record with regret the resignation by Dr. H. Hirschfeld of his membership of the Council.

During the year the Council has met on 14 occasions for the conduct of the business of the Union. In addition, committees to conduct the activities of the Union in East London, to take charge of the work connected with the lantern slides department, to assist the literary side of Lads' and Girls' Clubs, to advise on the subject of publications, to consider the subject of office accommodation and officials, and to make arrangements for the Jewish Literary Congress

of 1905, were appointed, and held frequent meetings. The meetings of the Council and of some of the committees were held at Jews' College, where the Annual Conference of 1904 was also held, and the thanks of the Union are cordially offered to the Council of the College for their generous hospitality.

CONSTITUENT SOCIETIES.

B'NEI ZION ASSOCIATION.

King's Hall, 83 and 85, Commercial Road, E.

President.—A. VAL FINKENSTEIN, B.ESL.

Vice-Presidents.

S. ROSEN.

V. SHAPIRO.

Treasurer.—E. FREUDENHEIM.

Hon. Sec.—J. LERMAN, 49, Greenfield Street, Commercial Rd., E.

The members of the Society number 250. Weekly Lectures are held on Saturday evenings throughout the year, and are exceptionally well attended. The chief Lectures were:—

MR. ISRAEL COHEN, B.A. : "Jehuda Halevi."

MR. ISAAC SNOWMAN : "The Art of Zion."

REV. S. A. ADLER : "Zionist Topics."

DR. M. BERNSTEIN : "East Africa."

MR. A. V. FINKENSTEIN, B.ÉS L. : "The Jewish Settlement in Russia."

MR. S. ROSEN : "Zionism."

MRS. KATHLEEN MANNING : "The Soul of a Nation."

MR. JOSEPH COWEN : "The Present Crisis in Zionism."

MR. HARRY S. LEWIS, M.A. : "Maimonides."

THE HON. MRS. E. A. GORDON : "Zionism."

MR. MURRAY ROSENBERG : "Palestine," with Lantern Illustrations.

DR. ZALKIND : "Zionism and East Africa."

MR. J. DE HAAS : "American Jewry."

Mr. S. GUILAROFF : " African Jewry."

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG : " East Africa and its Opponents."

Mr. S. FRAENKEL : " Unity."

Mr. J. KAPOLOWITCH : " The Hebrew Language."

Another important feature of last year's work was a Dinner given to Mr. and Mrs. Israel Zangwill, on their return from the United States.

BRADY STREET CLUB FOR WORKING LADS.

Durward Street, Whitechapel, E.

Hon. Sec.—ERNEST C. M. MOSELY.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

BUTLER STREET GIRLS' CLUB, SPITALFIELDS.

Butler Street, Spitalfields, E.

President.—Lady SASSOON.

Vice-Presidents. | Mrs. H. ADLER
| Mrs. SASSOON.

Chairman of Executive.—Miss ADLER.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss SOLOMON.

Hon. Superintendent of Classes.—Miss E. PHILLIPS.

The Club meets six nights a week throughout the year. Classes are held under Government inspection. Saturday and Sunday evenings are devoted to concerts, lectures, and games. Raffles are arranged during the Summer months for the members. There are 200 girls in regular attendance.

CENTRAL JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—CHARLES WALEY COHEN.

Vice-Presidents. | The Rev. MICHAEL ADLER, B.A.
| LUCIEN WOLF.

Treasurer.—Dr. ARTHUR S. MORLEY.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss BENVENUTA SOLOMON.

16 Endsleigh Gardens, N.W.

The membership of the Society numbers 108. Ten meetings were arranged for during the Session. The attendance has been fair, but the Committee would like to see a more active interest taken by members in the Society.

The following was the programme of the Session :—

Mr. C. WALEY COHEN : Presidential Address.

Professor ERNEST GARDNER : " Expression in Greek Art."

Mr. SAMUEL R. SAMUEL : " The Beni-Israel of India."

Rev. S. SINGER : " The Joy of Life."

Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH : " Rabbi Joshua Sage, Philanthropist, and Wit."

Debate : " Fiscal Policy." Openers, Mr. ARNOLD WARD ; Mr. SIDNEY PASCAL.

Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD : " The Scribblings on the Fly-leaf of MSS."

Mr. LUCIEN WOLL : " The Founders of the Anglo-Jewish Community."

CITY JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A.

Vice-President.—B. I. COHEN, B.A.

Treasurer.—E. A. SHOCK.

Hon. Secretaries.—
 { E. A. SPIERS, 18 Spital Square,
 Bishopsgate, E.C.
 { S. SUGARMAN, 31 Lichfield Road, Bow, E.

The literary programme maintained the high standard of previous years, while the interest in the lectures and debates was satisfactory, and the social side of the Society's activity was not neglected. There has been a falling off in the attendance due to a diminished membership, owing mainly to removals from the district, and the increasing number of Literary Societies in the suburbs. The membership now stands at 46, as compared with 77 in the previous session.

The Society again presented the flowers for the decoration of the New Synagogue on Shevuoth of last year, and

at the special Chanukah Service for children] several members of the Society again gave their services as stewards.

The following is a list of the literary fixtures :—

Dr. A. LEVY : "Heine."

The Rev. A. A. GREEN : "Some Jewish Clerical Problems."
(Inter-Society Discussion at the Jews' College Union Society.)

Mr. S. GELBERG, B.A. : "The Yellow Peril."

The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. : "The Disraeli Centenary."

Miss L. ROSENGARD : "Some Humorous Replies of School Children."

Mr. A. LEVY : "Moliere—His Humour."

Mr. E. A. SHOCK : "Oliver Wendell Holmes."

Mr. E. STERNHEIM : "John Ruskin."

Debate (with the Hammersmith Jewish Literary Society) :
"That the responsibility for the inefficiency of the Community rests more with the laity than with the clergy."
Opener, Mr. H. GOODMAN.

Mr. H. J. SANDHEIM : "David Alroy."

Debate : "That Alien Immigration into this country should be restricted." Opener, Mr. E. A. SHOCK.

Mr. B. I. COHEN, B.A. : "Modern Socialism."

The Rev. S. A. ADLER : "The Future of Zionism."

HAMMERSMITH JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—PERCY L. MARKS.

Vice-President.—The Rev. S. ALFRED ADLER.

Treasurer.—ERNEST LESSER.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss ANNE MARKS, 10 Matheson Road,
West Kensington, W.

As heretofore, the lectures and debates have maintained a high level of excellence. The Library formed in connection with the Society continues to be appreciated by many members. Several new volumes have been added.

The following is a list of lectures and debates :—

Dr. L. D. BARNEFF : "The Bible and Archæology."

Debate, "Conscription." Opener, Mr. L. BERLINER.

The Rev. S. SINGER : "Some Curiosities of Controversy."

Miss A. MARKS : "The Cat in Art and History."

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG : "What Zionism is doing for the Jews."

The Rev. S. A. ADLER : "Life's Shadows in the Light of Rabbinic Literature."

Debate with West End Jewish Literary Society. Opener, Mr. S. ROSENBAUM, B.Sc.

Debate with the City Jewish Social and Literary Society. Opener, Mr. H. GOODMAN.

Mr. H. S. LEWIS : "The Jewish Religious Union."

The Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH : "A New Jewish Brotherhood."

Mr. A. M. HYAMSON : "The Ashkenazim of England."

Mr. S. ROSENBAUM, B.Sc. : "Problems of Jewish Citizenship."

Mr. H. H. GORDON, L.C.C. : "Yiddish Advertisements."

HAMPSTEAD AND ST. JOHN'S WOOD JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—J. SNOWMAN, M.D.

Vice-Presidents.—The Rev. A. A. GREEN : The Rev. H. L. PRICE ; S. MOSES, M.A.

Treasurer.—D. H. BARNARD.

Hon. Secretary.—FRANK H. MYERS, 134 Abbey Road, West Hampstead, N.W.

The session opened with a *Conversazione* on October 13th, at which Dr. Snowman delivered the Presidential Address on "The Relations between the Literary Society and the Synagogue," and there were twenty-six literary meetings. A dinner was held on Sunday, March 19th, at the Wharnccliffe Rooms. The session was marked by several distinctive features, the most interesting being the "Symposium" on "The Jewish Attitude to Biblical Criticism," which attracted considerable attention even

outside the circle of the Society. The Society was favoured with lectures by the Rev. Dr. R. F. Horton, and the Hon. L. Walter Rothschild, M.P., neither of whom had previously appeared in the capacity of lecturer before any Jewish Literary Society. The Rev. H. L. Price, a Vice-President of the Society, gave a course of lectures at the Committee Room of the St. John's Wood Synagogue, on "Jewish Theology *versus* Christian Theology."

The Committee have taken steps to establish a lending Library of books of Jewish interest in connection with the Society. Messrs. Wolfe and Hollander have presented the Society with a handsome bookcase, and several members have presented books which will materially add to the value of the collection. The Library has been located in the Board-room of the Hampstead Synagogue.

The membership roll of the Society has been considerably reduced, but the Committee do not look upon this with any feeling of alarm, as it is agreed that on the foundation of the Society the membership was somewhat inflated. The opening of a new Synagogue in the neighbouring district of Brondesbury should add to the number of persons likely to interest themselves in a Jewish Literary Society, and it is anticipated that recruits will be speedily forthcoming from that neighbourhood.

Despite the reduction in the number of members, the finances of the Society are in a satisfactory state. The Library naturally entailed at the outset a large expenditure which is not expected to recur, although purchases of books may be made from time to time.

The following were the literary fixtures:—

Dr. J. SNOWMAN: Presidential Address — "The Relations between the Literary Society and the Synagogue."

The Rev. S. ALFRED ADLER: "Life's Shadows in the Light of Rabbinic Literature."

Mr. WALTER EMANUEL : Two Papers on "British Humour" and "German Humour."

Debate on "The Jewish Press." Opener, Mr. H. LEHMANN.

The RECTOR OF SPITALFIELDS (The Rev. W. H. DAVIES): "Social Work in the East End."

Symposium on "The Jewish Attitude to Biblical Criticism."

Papers by the Revs. Professor HERMANN GOLLANCZ, D.Litt., and A. A. GREEN; Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER, Dr. J. SNOWMAN, Messrs. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, LAURIE MAGNUS, and CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.

Dr. J. MACDONALD BROWN, M.D., F.R.C.S. : "Our Unseen Foes."

Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH : "Good Manners as Taught in Jewish Literature."

Dr. B. MYERS on "The Marriage Question: Its Vital Aspects."

Mr. WILFRED SAMUEL : "The History of some Pseudo-Messiahs."

Mr. NORMAN BENTWICH : "The Jews as they appeared to the Greeks and Romans."

Mr. WOLFE MILLER : "The Temple in Jerusalem."

Mr. ALBERT M. HYAMSON : "The Sephardim in England."

The Rev. FRANCIS L. COHEN : "Some Alien Elements in Jewish Worship-Music."

The Rev. Dr. R. F. HORTON : "The Literary Connection between Judaism and Christianity."

Mr. ELKAN N. ADLER, M.A. : "Aristotle and the Jews."

The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. : "The Doctrine of Original Virtue."

The Rev. A. A. GREEN : "A Phase of Jewish Social Work in East London."

Mr. BUDGETT MEAKIN : "Social Life in Morocco."

Mr. AUGUSTUS KAHN, M.A. : "The Foundation of an International Jewish Union."

Mr. S. I. RAPOPORT : "The Jewish Labour Movement in Russia."

Mr. MAURICE MYERS : "MS. Sidelights on the Early History of the Anglo-Jewish Press."

Joint Debate with the Jews' College Union Society.

HON. WALTER ROTHSCHILD, M.P.: "Colour in the Animal Kingdom."

The Rev. W. HARDY HARWOOD: "The Women of Shakespeare's Plays."

Mr. ISAAC SNOWMAN: "The Art of Zion."

Mr. LEONARD LEVY: "Self-luminous Bodies."

HERZL-NORDAU AND LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

164, Commercial Road, E.

President.—LEON BULL.

Vice-President.—MORRIS ZUCKER.

Hon. Secretaries.—S. TALBOT, J. GOLDSTEIN, 112 Brick Lane, E.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

President.—I. ABRAHAMS, M.A.

Vice-Presidents.—The Rev. Dr. ADLER (Chief Rabbi), JOSEPH JACOBS, B.A., C. TRICE MARTIN, F.S.A., C. G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.,

ISIDORE SPIELMANN, F.S.A., LUCIEN WOLF.

Treasurer.—FRANK HAES, Hon. F.R.P.S.

Hon. Secretaries.—

{	The Rev. S. LEVY, M.A., Synagogue Cham-
	bers, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
	FRANK HAES, Hon. F.R.P.S.

The Society is managed by a Council of thirty-four members, and an Executive Committee of sixteen members. The number of members, including corresponding members, is about 250. A Book of Essays by Dr. S. A. Hirsch has been published and issued to members during the year. The following meetings were held:—

Annual General Meeting of the Society.

Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M.A.: Presidential Address.

Mr. LUCIEN WOLF: "The Disraeli Family."

Mr. LEON HÜHNER: "The Jews of Ireland."

Mr. MAURICE MYERS: "Calendars of the Coaching Days."

THE JEWISH STUDY SOCIETY.*President.* — MRS. HENRY LUCAS.*Vice-President.* — MRS. ERNEST FRANKLIN.*Librarian.* — MISS LILY MONTAGU.*Hon. Treasurer.* — MISS PIERRE LEWIS.*Hon. Secretary.* — MRS. EICHHOLZ, 28 Bolingbroke Road,
West Kensington, W.

Nine circles are at work, comprising 104 members, and one additional circle of seven members for Hebrew. One circle of ten members meets in the East End, the other circles are all held in the West End of London. A general meeting was held on June 2nd, 1904, at the house of the President, to meet Mrs. Henry Solomon, President of the American Council of Jewish Women, who gave an address. The lectures provided for the members were:—

Dr. S. A. HIRSCH: "Medieval Mysticism amongst Jews and Christians."

Professor FLINDERS PETER: "Egypt, from Abraham to Athanasius."

The Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH: "The Prayer Book" (course of three lectures).

JEWS COLLEGE LITERARY SOCIETY.

Queen Square House, Guilford Street, W.C.

President. — Rev. S. LEVY, M.A.*Vice-Presidents.* — Rev. S. SINGER, Dr. S. A. HIRSCH, ISRAEL

COHEN, B.A., and B. I. COHEN, B.A.

Hon. Secretary. — B. I. COHEN, B.A.

The Society during the past Session departed from its usual custom of holding lectures on separate subjects, by arranging a series of lectures on Jewish Romantic Literature. It was thought that such a course would appeal not only to the members of the Society, but also to the public at large, and a syllabus was printed and widely circulated. The interest at first shown in the lectures was hardly sustained

later in the Session, and the Committee will have seriously to consider whether to repeat the experiment or to return to the former practice of having a number of lectures on different subjects. The meetings were all held on Sunday evenings, and the Sessional programme was as follows:—

Rev. S. SINGER : Introductory Lecture.

Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A. : " Early Romance."

Mr. MARCUS N. ADLER, M.A. : " The Wandering Jew in the Middle Ages."

Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD : " Mediæval Satirical Romances."

Rev. Dr. J. CHOTZNER : " The Modern Hebrew Novel, Drama, and Satire."

JEWS' COLLEGE UNION SOCIETY.

Hon. President.—Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH.

President.—B. I. COHEN, B.A.

Vice-President.—ISIDORE STATMAN.

Treasurer.—A. W. TURNER.

Hon. Secretary.—H. J. SANDHEIM, } Queen Square House,
Deputy Hon. Secretary.—A. I. CLARKE, } Guilford St., W.C.

The membership of the Society amounts to 91.

The Committee, in co-operation with the officers of the Committee of Workers amongst the Jewish Poor, arranged a *Conversazione* in honour of the Rev. Francis L. Cohen, Chief Minister of the Sidney Congregation—a past teacher at Jews' College, and a Member of the Union Society—and made presentations to Mr. and Mrs. Cohen.

The following is a list of the meetings during the Session:—

Rev. A. A. GREEN : Presidential Address—"Some Jewish Clerical Problems."

Debate : "That a Jewish Theological College is not necessary."

Opener, Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. ; Opposer, Mr. ISRAEL COHEN, B.A.

Joint-debate with the Stoke Newington Jewish Social and Literary Society : "That the Establishment of a Jewish Nationality is necessary for the Preservation of Jewish Individuality."

Debate : " That, in the interest of the Jewish Community, Alien Immigration into this country should be restricted." Opener, Mr. HERBERT J. SANDHEIM : Opposer, Mr. ABRAHAM COHEN. Mr. HERBERT J. SANDHEIM, " Criticus Criticorum " : Mr. EPHRAIM LEVINE, " Robert Louis Stevenson " : Mr. ABRAHAM COHEN, " Scientific Agnosticism " : Mr. D. de S. POOL, " This Meeting."

Joint-debate with the Hampstead and St. John's Wood Jewish Literary Society : " That in a Jewish Minister the qualities of scholarship and erudition are less required than those understood in the term Communal worker." Opener, Mr. MAURICE MYERS : Opposer, Rev. L. MENDLESOHN, B.A.

NORTH LONDON JEWISH LITERARY UNION.

President.—FREDERICK S. SPIERS, B.Sc.

Vice-President.—The Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A.

Treasurer.—OTTO LOEWI.

<i>Hon.</i>	{	MISS GLADYS ROSENTHAL, 57 Queen's Road, Finsbury Park, N.
<i>Secretaries.</i> —		MISS M. SPIER, 12 Pyrland Road, Canonbury, N.

The number of members is 102. Twenty-six lectures were delivered, and the high order of the papers of previous years was fully maintained. Following upon the precedent of last year, the syllabus included a series of papers upon a specifically Jewish subject by three members of the Union, the subject selected being " Jewish Influences in the Renaissance and Reformation."

The following is a list of the literary fixtures :—

MRS. ALICE MEYNELL : " English Poetry in the later 17th Century."

MR. ALBERT M. HYAMSON : " The Sephardim of England."

MR. W. B. FORSTER-BOVILL, M.A. : " Charles James Fox."

MR. AYLMER MAUDE : " Leo Tolstoy."

DR. S. A. HIRSCH : " The Mishna."

MR. FRANK RUTTER : " Philosophy and Painting."

Mr. S. L. BENSUSAN : "Morocco."

Very Rev. CANON McCORMICK : "Wellington."

Mr. W. B. FORSTER-BOVILL, M.A. : "The Place of Humour in Modern Life."

The Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A. : "The Optimism of the Bible."

A Hypnotic Demonstration by Dr. B. HOLLANDER.

Mr. BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B. : "Bread and Cheese and Kisses."

Mr. J. D. SYMON, M.A. : "Man and the Graven Image."

Mr. F. S. SPIERS, B.Sc. : "Jewish Influences in the Renaissance and Reformation. Part I. : Introduction—The Middle Ages."

The Rev. Dr. H. ADLER : "The Faust of the Talmud."

The Rev. and Mrs. FRANCIS L. COHEN : "Some Alien Elements in Jewish Worship-Music."

Mr. D. H. AARON : "Jewish Influences in the Renaissance and Reformation. Part II. : The Renaissance in Italy."

Mr. HOLFORD KNIGHT : "Emerson."

Mr. S. WALLACH : "Jewish Influences in the Renaissance and Reformation. Part III. : The Renaissance in Germany."

Miss BUENA POOL, B.Sc. : "The Jew—A Psychological Study."

Mr. J. F. CARR : "History and Description of some well-known London Statues."

Mr. ALBERT I. MYERS : "Religious Customs in other Lands."

Mr. D. H. AARON : "Our Virtues and Failings—Can they be Glorified and Detended?"

Mr. J. M. MYERS : "Communal Chaos—Wanted a Dictator."

Mr. FRANK SPEAIGHT : "Character Sketches from Pickwick."

NORTH-EAST LONDON JEWISH INSTITUTE

(Late South Hackney Jewish Social and Literary Society).

President.—A. B. SALMEN.

Vice-President.—L. B. FRANKLIN.

Hon. Secs.—SOL. HEISER ; M. JERICHOWER, 18 Alconbury Road, N.

This Society has acquired the premises at 206, Mare Street, Hackney, formerly known as the Hackney

Conservative Club, together with the library, furniture, and fixtures. The cost of the acquisition has been generously met by the Hon. Walter Rothschild, M.P., and Messrs. L. B. Franklin and A. B. Salmen. The position of the premises is very favourable, being within easy reach of Stoke Newington, Clapton, Dalston, Stepney, and Bow, and the Institute should therefore be able to derive a large membership from these quarters. The building has been thoroughly renovated, and will contain billiard, reading, and social rooms. There is a commodious hall capable of accommodating a very large number of people, and this will be utilised for lectures and dances. A piece of ground in the rear will be used as a playground by the pupils of the South Hackney Synagogue Religion Classes. The Institute will be open from 12 noon till 11.30 p.m. daily, the subscription being 10s. 6d. per annum.

SOUTH ESSEX JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY UNION.

Honorary President.—L. B. FRANKLIN.

President.—The Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A.

Vice-President.—H. WEBER.

Treasurer.—E. H. COHEN.

Hon. Secretary.—L. NORDEN, 117 Hampton Road, Forest Gate.

The number of members is 91. The second year of this Union has again been very successful, and has more than realised the expectations formed by the Committee last year. The members have met almost every Sunday from October 9th to March 26th, during which time eleven papers were read.

During the year summer rambles were organised, bicycle, dramatic, and musical sections were formed, and a recreation room was opened, all of which were well supported.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

The Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A. : Presidential Address.

The Rev. A. A. GREEN : "What the Community Requires."

The Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A. : "The Bible and Modern Critics."

Mr. A. KAHN, M.A. : "Ghetto Stories."

Mr. L. G. BOWMAN, M.A., B.Sc. : "Israel Zangwill, Novelist."

The Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A. : "Spiritualism."

Mr. L. B. FRANKLIN : "Pride of Race as it affects Jews."

Mr. HARRY S. LEWIS, M.A. : "Maimonides."

The Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A. : "Jewish Types."

The Rev. M. ADLER, B.A. : "Oliver Cromwell."

Mr. MAURICE MYERS : "Animal Miracles in the Old Testament and later Parallels."

SOUTH LONDON JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

President.—H. BERNHARDT COHEN.

Vice-Presidents. { Rev. N. GOLDSTON.
 { A. EMDON.

Treasurer.—E. L. SOLOMON.

Hon. Secretary.—A. RAPP, 8 Stockwell Park Road, Brixton, S.W.
[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

STEPNEY JEWISH LADS' CLUB.

71 Stepney Green, E.

President.—Rev. J. F. STERN.

Vice-Presidents.

MARCUS N. ADLER, M.A. JULIAN G. LOUSADA.

HERBERT N. ADLER, M.A., ERNEST MORLEY.

LL.M. EPHRAIM NORDEN.

HARRY S. LEWIS, M.A. NELSON SAMUEL.

Treasurer.—DENZIL A. MYER.

Hon. Secretary.—SAMUEL AMSTELL.

The year has been one of steady progress, the membership having increased to 160. Owing to the fact that many

of the lads are growing too old to benefit from a Lads' Club, it has become necessary to provide for them in a more suitable manner. This being the case with East London Jewish Lads' Clubs the Boards of Management have co-operated to form an "Old Boys'" Club for the exclusive benefit of "Old Members" of these Clubs. The Committee much regret that, owing to pressure of other affairs, Mr. Simon Myers has resigned his position as Hon. Secretary. The success of the Club has been much retarded by lack of suitable accommodation. This difficulty is very much accentuated by the fact that neighbouring clubs are so suitably housed.

The Club is open every evening excepting Monday and Friday, from 7.30 to 10. Cricket or Football is played on Sunday afternoons at Walthamstow during the year, while during the summer swimming is held on Sunday mornings and Monday evenings. A Technical Class is held during the winter on Sundays. The indoor amusements consist of Billiards, Boxing and Wrestling, Chess, Draughts, Dominoes, and Ping-Pong. Several Club and inter-Club debates have taken place, and a Lantern Lecture was given by Mr. F. S. Spiers, B.Sc., under the auspices of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies. There is also a Dramatic Section, a Class in First Aid to the Injured, a Gymnasium Class, which meets once a week and practises on the horizontal and parallel bars, and exercises with dumb-bells and Indian clubs. The parallel bars were presented by Mr. B. J. Friend.

The Library of the Club is well used, but as the number of books is not very large further presents of suitable books would be much appreciated.

The Minstrel Troupe of the Club is most popular. It continues to give entertainments at various clubs and charitable institutions.

Other features of the Club are an anti-Gambling Association, a Savings Bank, and a Club Magazine, published monthly.

STUDENTS' JEWISH LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY.

Hon. President.—THE REV. A. FELDMAN, B.A.

President.—D. M. MANCHEVSKY, B.A.

Vice-President.—D. DE S. POOL.

Treasurer.—ROBERT M. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE.

Hon. Secretary.—JOSEPH NABARRO, B.A., 71 Grosvenor Road, Highbury, N.

The Society, which has now a membership of 42, came into existence in January, 1903, and is limited to those who are, or have been, students at some recognised institution. The chief feature of the Society is that all readers of papers and openers of debates are members, and no others are asked to contribute papers or to take the chief part in debates, the object being to make every member in turn contribute some original paper, or open the debate.

The following is a list of literary fixtures :—

The Rev. A. FELDMAN, B.A. : "The Jewish Student."

Debate, "That a Development of the Aptitude of Jews for Commerce is desirable." Opener, Mr. P. GOODMAN.

Mr. S. H. GROENEWOUD : "The Spanish Inquisition."

Debate, "That a Jewish Toynbee Hall is both possible and desirable." Opener, Mr. N. BENTWICH, B.A.

Mr. J. N. NABARRO, B.A. : "Benjamin Disraeli, Politician and Novelist."

Debate, "That Zionism is the only solution of the Jewish Problem." Opener, Mr. L. SIMON, B.A.

Mr. W. H. HIRSCHBEIN : "The Works of Israel Zangwill."

Debate, "Freewill v. Heredity." Opener, Mr. L. FRANKS.

The Rev. J. DANGLOW : "Emerson."

Mr. L. SAUNDERS : "The History of Vaccination."
 Debate, "The Advisability of Reform in Religion." Opener,
 Mr. J. GREEN.
 Mr. S. POOL : "The Ingoldsby Legends."
 Mr. V. G. SIMMONS : "George Eliot and the Jews."
 Mr. D. POOL : "Hell."

WEST CENTRAL JEWISH GIRLS' CLUB,

DEAN STREET, SOHO, W.

President.—LADY MONTAGU.

Treasurer.—Miss R. DELGADO.

Hon. Secretary.—Miss L. H. MONTAGU, 12 Kensington Palace
 Gardens, W.

The Club has 350 members. Instruction is given in Biblical Hebrew, as well as secular subjects.

The following lantern lectures were given :—

Mr. BERTEAM JACOBS, LL.B. : "The Jews in England since Bible Times."

The Rev. S. LEVY : "The Maccabees."

WEST END JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—DELISSA JOSEPH, F.R.I.B.A.

Treasurer.—FRANK JOSEPH, B.A.

Hon. Secretaries.—

{	E. ARAKIE COHEN, M.A.
{	Miss L. HANDS, 57 Portdown Road, W.

There are 60 members. Eleven meetings at which papers were read were held during the session. The experiment was tried of holding some meetings on week nights. The attendance at these, however, was very small, and all subsequent meetings were held on Sundays.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

Mr. FREDERIC S. FRANKLIN : Presidential Address — "A Glimpse of Jewry in 1950."

The Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M.A. : "Rabbi Akiba."

Mr. HARRIS S. LEWIS, M.A. : "Alexander the Great in the Talmud."

Dr. A. S. RAPPOPORT : "Semitic and Aryan Women."

The Rev. S. SINGER : "The Joy of Life."

Mr. ELKAN N. ADLER, M.A. : "The Jews of Bokhara."

Mr. S. BIRNBAUM : "Old Frankfort, Some Historic Events and Legends of its Ancient Hebrew Community."

Mr. FREDERIC S. FRANKLIN : "Work."

Mr. OSMAN EDWARDS : "The Russo-Japanese War."

Mr. HERBERT M. ADLER, M.A. : "The Jews at the Time of the Rise of Christianity."

Mr. E. ARAKIE COHEN, M.A. : "The Jewish Character."

Debate with the Hammersmith Jewish Literary Society, "That the future of Anglo-Jewry is full of danger for the Jewish Community."

BIRMINGHAM JEWISH YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

President.—SIR PHILIP MAGNUS.

Chairman.—S. J. LEVI.

Treasurer.—S. AHRONSBURG.

Hon. Secretary.—LEWIS I. SILVERSTON, 306 Gillett Road, Edgbaston.

During the year thirteen meetings were held. Owing to the closing of the Great Western Hotel, the Association has met at the Temple Room at the Acorn Hotel, Temple Street. The rooms during the past year have been, and will in future be opened at 6 p.m. for chess, draughts, dominoes, and social intercourse.

The following were among the literary fixtures :—

SIR PHILIP MAGNUS : "The Early Education of the Jews."

Mr. HEWITT : "To the Land of the Midnight Sun on a Bicycle."

Mr. E. LAWRENCE LEVY : "The Revolt of Asia."

Mr. B. SILVERSTON, B.A. : "The Soul of a People."

Mr. E. G. BEK : "My Trip to California."

BRISTOL JEWISH SOCIAL AND DEBATING SOCIETY.*President.* —H. SALANSON.*Vice-President.* —M. BERTSH.*Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.* Miss SARA EPSTEIN, 39
Salisbury Road, Redland.

Besides the lectures and debates members of the Society gave a benefit performance at the Theatre Royal in aid of the local Board of Guardians (which realised over £82), and a Purim treat to nearly 200 school children. Various outings are held during the summer. The chief literary fixtures were:—

Mrs. A. J. JACOBS: "Some Reminiscences of Sir Moses Montefiore."

Miss PLATNAUER: Reading from Thackeray.

Mrs. H. SALANSON: "American Humour."

Dr. MYER COPLANS (Stroud): "The Mosaic Code and Modern Medicine."

Mr. B. M. BENJAMIN (London): "Toleration."

Mr. L. GOLDBERG: "Some Notable Inventions."

Mr. A. J. JACOBS: "International Peace."

Mr. H. SALANSON: "Some of our Manufactures."

Dr. HOWARD-JONES: "The Sanitary Code of the Torah."

CARDIFF ZIONIST AND LITERARY SOCIETY.*President.* —I. SAMUEL.*Chairman.*—S. EINSTEIN.*Vice-Chairman.*—H. H. ROSKIN.*Treasurer.* —S. FLIEGELSTONE.*Hon. Secretary.* —ALFRED L. LEVY, 24, Castle Arcade, Cardiff.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

DUBLIN JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL CLUB.

57 Lombard Street West, Dublin.

President.—E. W. HARRIS, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

M. E. SOLOMONS, J.P. The Rev. A. GUDANSKY,

H. SHREIDER.

Treasurer.—J. LEVERTON, LL.D.S.I.

Hon. Secretaries.

I. SCHEIN, 10 Walworth Road, S.C.R.

I. M. SHMULOWITZ, 6 Spencer Street, S.C.R.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

GLASGOW JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

President.—MICHAEL SIMONS, J.P.

Vice-President.—JACOB KRAMRISCH.

Treasurer.—JULIUS M. SAMUEL.

Hon Secretary.—J. LEVINE, 4 West Garden Street.

The membership is 425, and the Society is the largest constituent of the Union. A circulating library of Jewish books has been established, consisting of 71 works. Evening classes are held in connection with the Society.

The following were among the literary fixtures:—

Rev. Prof. Dr. HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.LITT. (London):
Inaugural Lecture.

Mr. ALBERT M. HYAMSON (London): "The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for them on the Resettlement of the Jews in England."

Mr. E. LAWRENCE LEVY: "National Physical Education on the Continent."

Prof. J. GLAISTER: "A Law Giver before Moses."

The Rev. M. ROSENBAUM (Newcastle-on-Tyne): "The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain."

The Rev. J. FÜRST: "Truth"

Councillor WM. MARTIN: "The City we Live in."

LEEDS JEWISH YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

27 Brunswick Terrace, Leeds.

Hon. President.—PAUL HIRSCH, J.P.*Vice-Presidents.*

Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.

J. L. FOX.

A. FELDMAN.

A. WOOLFE.

V. LIGHTMAN.

M. LUBELSKI.

J. COHEN.

Chairman.—H. M. LIPMAN.*Vice-Chairman.* R. GITLSON.*Treasurer.*—Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.*Hon. Secs.*—I. HARRISON and I. LEVINSTEIN.

The membership has increased, and for some time past it has been felt that the premises of the Association are quite inadequate for the needs of the members, and when a large gathering assembles, on the occasion of a lecture, the inconvenience is considerable. Strenuous efforts have been made to secure more suitable premises and a scheme in furtherance of that object has at length been laid before the members and adopted by them. The Association, consequently, will shortly enter into possession of their new Club. A great deal of interest has been shown in the literary side of the Institution; the attendance at all lectures being very good. The following were the literary fixtures of the Session:—

Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.: "Some curious and interesting Clubs and Associations—a History and a Retrospect."

Rev. R. TRIBICH: "An interesting Palestinian Race."

Mr. G. RHODES: "Anti-Vivisection"

Mr. H. DYKES: "The British Empire."

Ald. E. WOODHEAD: "Breaking new ground in Switzerland."

Rev. M. ADLER: "Oliver Cromwell."

MANCHESTER JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL UNION.

President.—I. SHAER, B.A.

Vice-President.—S. BALABAN.

Treasurer.—D. L. DAVIS.

Hon. Secretary.—S. L. BESSO, LL.B., 374 Moss Lane East,
Manchester.

There has been a notable increase in the membership from 135 to 182. The Society has proved attractive alike to members of the Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Reform congregations, and has thus formed a Union in the true sense of the word. The Society meets fortnightly at the Victoria Hotel.

The following lectures and debates were arranged :—

Mr. J. I. HART : Presidential Address.

Mr. BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B. (London) : "Early History of the Jews in England."

Mrs. R. LEO GRINDON, LL.A. : "Shakespeare for Everybody."

Dr. CHARLES WEITZMAN, Ph.D. : "The Economical and Political Situation of the Jews in Russia."

Mr. H. M. FEINBERG : "The Romance of Solomon Maimon."

Mr. LAURIE MAGNUS, M.A. (London) : "The Common Basis of Judaism."

The Rev. I. SIMON : "Abbahu—his sayings."

Mr. SAMUEL GORDON (London) : "Readings from Unpublished Stories."

Mrs. A. J. DAVIS : "Daniel Deronda."

Dr. M. UMANSKY (Leeds) : "The Pathology of the Jew."

Mr. S. FINBURGH : "Our Communal Needs."

Mr. ISRAEL COHEN (London) : "An Original Reading."

MANCHESTER JEWISH WORKING MEN'S CLUB.*President.* — BERNHARD STEEL.*Vice-Presidents.*

Rev. Dr. SALOMON.

Ald. FRANKENBURG, J.P.

Rev. H. LEVIN.

S. LICHTENSTEIN.

Rev. J. H. VALENTINE.

H. L. ROTHBAND.

A. J. S. BLES.

G. C. MANDELBERG, J.P.

GUSTAV BEHRENS, J.P.

Capt. S. L. MANDELBERG

I. A. ISAACS.

G. B. BEHRENS.

OTTO SEISEL.

L. ROTHBAND.

Treasurer. — H. MEYERSTONE.*Hon. Secretary.* — LEVY DAVIS.*Chairman of Literary and Debating Committee.*

J. DULBERG, M.A., LL.D.

Hon. Sec. — S. L. BESSO, LL.B., 374 Moss Lane East, Manchester.

The Literary and Debating Committee regrets that it cannot view the past Session with satisfaction, and that it was not found possible to continue on the excellent lines laid down, and so successfully carried out, during the previous Session. This was in a great measure due to the much regretted resignation, early in the Session, of the Rev. A. Wolf, the Chairman of the Committee, which, coming at so inopportune a time rendered the completion of the necessary arrangements very difficult. The opening Lecture was delivered by the Rev. J. H. Valentine. Keen disappointment was occasioned by the cancellation at the last moment through ill health, of the Lecture announced to have been delivered by Mr. Claude G. Montefiore. The Rev. A. Wolf very kindly undertook to read the paper prepared by Mr. Montefiore. Lectures were also delivered by Ald. Leach and Mr. Gray.

An interesting set debate took place between Councillors Thompson and Jackson and their friends, and the members of the Club. The inter-debate between the members of the Literary and Social Union and the Club proved as enjoyable

as it was successful. It is hoped the meeting of the two Societies may become a regularly recurring annual fixture which will serve to foster and maintain that feeling of good fellowship which should sub-sist between the members of kindred Societies. The thanks of the Committee are cordially tendered to all who took part in the work of the Session.

MANCHESTER ZIONIST ASSOCIATION.

97 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester.

President.—Councillor Dr. CHARLES DREYFUS.

Vice-Presidents.—J. MASSEL and N. ROBINSON.

Treasurer.—Rev. M. S. BIVARSKI.

Hon. Secretary.—R. FEIGENBAUM.

Literary Committee.

Chairman.—JEROME JACOBS.

Hon. Secretary.—I. EPHRAIMS.

Librarian.—L. HARRIS.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

PARK PLACE SYNAGOGUE ASSOCIATION, MANCHESTER.

President.—Rev. A. WOLF, D. Litt.

Vice-Presidents.

JAMES BAUER.

I. DANZIGER.

A. SAALFELD.

M. SCHLESINGER.

Hon. Treasurer.—A. FRISCHMANN.

Hon. Secretaries.—A. FRISCHMANN and R. DANZIGER,
Laurel Bank, Northumberland Street, Higher Broughton.

[Particulars of the last year's working have not been received.]

MERTHYR AND DISTRICT JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

President.—A. I. FREEDMAN.

Vice-President.—J. PRAG.

Treasurer.—M. D. GOODMAN.

Hon. Secretaries.—[Miss L. ISAACS, 12 Penybryn Terrace.
[Miss L. ABELSON.

The Society has had a successful session. A new feature was the holding of Scripture meetings.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

The Rev. I. RAFAILOVICH : "Chassidism."

Mr. S. L. HAINS (Tredegar) : "The Solace of Books."

The Rev. S. TYNE (Swansea) : "Daniel."

The Rev. G. HINGULIFF (Aberdare) : "George Grossmith."

Mr. ISRAEL COHEN (London) : "Some Typical Ghetto Stories."

Mr. D. SELINI (Swansea) : "The Jews in Greece after the Dispersion."

Debate, "Is Woman's Position in Life harder than Man's?"

Openers, Mrs. H. GOODMAN, Mr. M. FINE.

Mr. M. MENDELSON (Swansea) : "My Experiences during the Siege of Ladysmith."

Mr. J. STRAWIUM : "The Lost Ten Tribes."

The Rev. J. ABELSON (Bristol) : "The Re-admission of the Jews into England in the time of Oliver Cromwell."

Mr. I. LAZARUS : "Is Avarice the Ruling Passion of Man?"

Dr. BIDDLE : "Accidents, and how to Treat Them."

The Rev. J. POLACK (Clifton) : "Nathan the Wise."

NEWPORT (MON.) JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL INSTITUTE.

President.—L. JACOBS.

Vice-President.—S. BARNETT.

Treasurer.—H. PHILLIPS.

Hon. Secretary.—B. N. JACOBS, 25 Bryngwyn Road.

The Society has a membership of 58.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG (London) : "What Zionism proposes."
Debate with Swansea Jewish Literary Society. "That the
Present-day System of selecting Ministers is in need of
immediate Amendment."

Mr. B. M. BENJAMIN (London) : "Toleration."

Mr. L. HARRIS : "The Jew and the Stage."

The Rev. J. ABELSON, B.A. (Bristol) : "Some of the more
Salient Points of Jewish History and Literature."

The Rev. J. POLACK (Bristol) : "Shylock."

Rev. I. RAFFALOVICH (Merthyr) : "Hebrew Poetry in Middle
Ages."

Mr. H. H. GORDON, B.A. (London) : "The London East End
Ghetto."

Mr. BERTRAM JACOBS, LL.B. (London) : "Do we Believe?"

NOTTINGHAM HEBREW LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY.

President.—R. GOLDMAN.

Vice-Presidents.— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The Rev. A. SCHLOSS.} \\ \text{H. JEREVITCH.} \\ \text{Miss ADA GOLDSTONE.} \end{array} \right.$

Hon. Secretary.—A. LASSMAN. 20 Canal Street, Nottingham.

The Society, which is the first to be established in Nottingham, closed its first session with a membership of 67. A successful dance was held, the proceeds of which have been devoted to the purchase of literature for a proposed Jewish Study Circle. At the close of the session many of the lady members decided to continue to meet for the purpose of making vestures for the synagogue, and garments for the poor. The Society desires to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered by the Union.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

Mr. R. GOLDMAN : Presidential Address.

Mr. H. JEREVITCH : "Woman in Temple and Synagogue."

Debate, "Should there be female representatives on public bodies?" Openers, Miss ADA GOLDSTONE, Mr. H. SIMONS.

Mr. I. ROSENTHAL : "Maimonides—his life and work."

Debate, "Conscription v. Voluntary Service." Openers, Mr. A. LASSMAN, Mr. M. GOLDMAN.

Mr. H. WOLFF : "Judas Maccabæus."

Rev. A. SCHLOSS : "Sanitary Science of the Bible."

Miss L. ROBINSON : "An Evening with Shakespeare."

Mr. G. TUPLING : "Is Universal Peace Probable?"

Mr. H. JEREVITCH : "Life Story of Rabbi Akiba."

Miss A. GOLDMAN : "Gems from the Poets."

Debate, "Should the Freedom of the Press be restricted?"
Openers, Mr. I. LEVIN, Mr. A. ROBINSON.

Mr. I. ROSENTHAL : "The Jews of England—their Expulsion and Return."

RAMSGATE JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—R. M. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE.

Vice-President.—JOSHUA M. LEVY.

Treasurer.—The Rev. H. SHANDEL.

Hon. Secretary.—The Rev. G. S. BELASCO, Temple Cottage,
Ramsgate.

The first year's work of the Society, which meets at Montefiore College, was satisfactory from every point of view. The roll of membership included over seventy names, the lectures given were uniformly excellent, the meetings were well attended by members and visitors, and the interest generally was active and well sustained.

The following were the lectures of the session :—

The Rev. Dr. CHOTZNER : "Hebrew Humorists."

Mr. R. M. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE : "Some Jewish Ideals."

The Rev. B. J. SALOMONS : "The Origin of Books."

The Rev. S. LEVENE: "Sabbatai Sevi."

The Rev. P. WOLFERS: "Three Pages of Anglo-Jewish History."

Mr. ALBERT M. HYAMSON: "History of the Sephardic Congregation."

Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH: "The Home and Tombs of the Maccabees."

The Rev. H. SHANDEL: "Solomon's Temple and Ancient Jerusalem."

Debate "On Zionism." Opener, Mr. L. SHANDEL.

The Rev. G. S. BELASCO: "Small Pleasures."

The Rev. B. J. SALOMONS: "Books and Bookmen."

The Rev. H. SHANDEL: "Ancient and Modern Jerusalem."

Mr. JOSHUA M. LEVY: "Travel Notes, with special reference to the Minhagim of Lisbon and Gibraltar."

SUNDERLAND JEWISH SOCIAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY.

Hon. President.—Sir FRANCIS MONTEFIORE, Bart.

Hon. Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Z. LAWRENCE. Rev. Dr. S. DAICHES.

Councillor N. RICHARDSON. Mr. D. A. OLSWANG.

Chairman.—LIONEL WOLFE.

Vice-Chairman and Treasurer.—J. JACKSON.

Hon. Secretary.—SAMUEL GALLEWSKI, 22 Murton Street, Sunderland.

The number of members on the register is over 150. The Club has succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and encouragement of many public men of the town, who readily responded to invitations to lecture on Social and Educational Topics. The list of Lectures held during the year was as follows:—

Mr. R. B. PARRY, J.P.: "Darwinism."

Rev. Professor Dr. GOLLANCZ: "Moses Mendelsohn."

Dr. M. JACOBS: "Spinoza."

Rev. J. HAWORTH : "Citizenship and Education."

Rev. J. SMYTH WOOD : "Amusements."

Rev. M. E. DAVIS : "Jewish Laws."

Rev. L. MUSCAT : "A Jewish Musician."

Mr. W. R. RAE : "Education."

Mr. A. LYNES : "A Night with Burns," with Musical Accompaniments by Mr. R. Archbold.

Mr. B. MORREAN : "Shakespeare."

Rev. J. BROMLEY : "Hamlet."

Mr. REUBEN COHEN (Stockton) : "Notes on Noses."

Rev. M. ROSENBAUM : "The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal."

Mr. W. R. RAE : "Poetry and How to Read it."

Dr. M. JACOBS : "Notes on Charles Dickens."

Mr. T. MARSHALL : "Books."

At the opening of the new Session on September 30th, the Mayor (Mld. H. J. Turnbull) occupied the chair, and gave expression to his approval of the work, and his best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society.

During the year Graetz's "History of the Jews" was added to the Library.

SWANSEA JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—D. SELINE.

Vice-President.—A. LEVY.

Hon. Treasurer.—B. GOLDBERG.

Hon. Secretary.—W. MIRON, 4 St. George's Terrace.

The following were the literary fixtures :—

Mr. HARRY S. LEWIS, M.A. (London) : "The Life of Maimonides."

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG (London) : "Zionism."

Debate with the Newport Jewish Literary Society, "That the Present-day System of electing Ministers is in need of Immediate Amendment."

The Rev. S. FVNE : "Proselytism and Proselytes."

Mr. A. LEVY : " Babylonia."

Mr. D. DAVIES : " The Jew in Gentile Literature."

Mr. J. NESTOR SCHNURMANN (Cheltenham) : " Russian Literature."

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN (London) : " A consideration of the various Solutions of the Jewish Question."

Mr. LLEUFER THOMAS : " Some Causes for the Survival of the Jewish Nation."

Mr. THOMAS REES : " Tennyson."

The Rev. I. RAFFALOVICH (Merthyr) : " Glimpses of Palestine."

Mr. A. LYONS : " The Wandering Jew."

Mr. H. GOLDBERG : " Some Incidents of Spanish Jewry."

TREDEGAR JEWISH LITERARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETY.

Hon. President.—S. L. HARRIS.

President.—G. ROSENBAUM.

Vice-Presidents.—I. B. BERNSTEIN, S. WALLEN.

Treasurer.—Rev. S. BLOCH.

Hon. Secretary.—I. L. WOLFSON, 31 Church Street, Tredegar.

During the Winter Session 18 General Meetings were held. In addition two " Social Evenings " were organised and were well attended by members and visitors. Great interest and activity has been displayed by members, and everything seems to augur well for the future of the Society.

It is the intention of the Society to hold a Bible and Scripture Class during the Summer months. A sum of 21s. was voted to the " Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum," London.

The Literary items of the Syllabus are as follows :—

Mr. S. LOUIS HARRIS : " The Bible and its Critics."

Mr. A. M. BERENBAUM (Brynmawr) : " The Wandering Jew."

Mr. H. LOVE (New Tredegar) : " What is Religious Reform ? " Debate, " Can Judaism Thrive without Persecution ? "

Openers, The Rev. S. BLOCH. Mr. G. ROSENBAUM.

Mr. I. L. WOLFSON: "The Political Aspect of the Future of Palestine."

Mr. M. ROSENBAUM: "Electricity and Magnetism."

Mr. S. BREST (Cardiff): "Some Types of Shakespeare's Heroines."

Mr. H. H. ROSKIN (Cardiff): "Science—Unscientific."

The Rev. I. RAFFALOVICH (Merthyr): "Jewish Poetry in the Middle Ages."

Mr. H. ORMAN (New Tredegar): "The Causes of Anti-Semitism."

Debate, "Should Measures be adopted to Restrict the Immigration of Aliens into England?" Openers, Mr. MOSES BERNSTEIN. Mr. NATHAN FINE.

Mr. G. ROSENBAUM: "Heredity v. Environment."

Mr. A. H. HARRIS: "Jewish Wit and Humour."

Debate, "Is the Eradication of Anti-Semitism a Possibility." Openers, Mr. S. WALLEN. Mr. L. L. HARRIS.

The Rev. S. BLOCH: "The Beth Hamidrash."

Mr. S. LOUIS HARRIS: "Arbitration or War."

MELBOURNE JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY.

President.—LOUIS LAZARUS.

Vice-Presidents.—Miss SCHLAM, H. E. COHEN, ARTHUR PHILLIPS.

Treasurers.—W. ROTHSTADT, O. BENJAMIN.

Hon. Secretaries.—Miss M. ALEXANDER, "Adivilly,"

Bunsbury Terrace, Hawksburn, Melbourne.

E. S. LEVINSON.

The average attendance at the literary meetings was 72. There were six lectures, two debates, and a Shakespearian evening.

**SYDNEY (N.S.W.) JEWISH LITERARY AND
DEBATING SOCIETY.**

President.—COLEMAN P. HYMAN, J.P.

Vice-President.—ALFRED SHACKEL, J.P.

Treasurer.—LEON L. COHEN.

Hon. Secretary.—ARTHUR W. HYMAN, Australasia Chambers,
Martin Place, Sydney.

The Society was founded in May 1901 for "the intellectual advancement of its members in Jewish and general subjects." The lectures, etc., are mostly upon subjects of particularly Jewish interest, but other matters, including questions relating to the Empire and Australia are discussed. Papers have been read from time to time upon the lives of Jewish worthies such as Moses, Rabbi Akiba, Maimonides, Uriel Acosta, Rashi, Abarbanel, Benjamin of Tudela, and Dr. Herzl. The meetings are held monthly at the schoolrooms attached to the Great Synagogue. The Society has acquired the nucleus of a library including several well-known Jewish books.

UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES. FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1905.

MR. FREDERIC S. FRANKLIN, Treasurer, in account with the Union of Jewish Literary Societies,
from June 11th, 1904, to May 31st, 1905.

DE

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance June 11th, 1904	...	...	...	Printing Annual, etc.	...	...	...
Cash in bank	31	7	4	Advertisements	...	...	...
Cash in hands of Secretary	10	11	0	Circulars	...	...	...
				In Newspapers	...	...	...
Pamphlets sold	...	...	...	General Press Cutting Association in connection with Bibliography	...	...	...
Donations (see Appendix A)	...	...	...	Salary of Secretary (six months)	...	...	...
Constituents' Subscriptions (see Appendix B)	...	...	...	Rent of Office (six months)	...	...	...
Annals (1903) sold	...	...	...	Lantern Slides, as per contra	...	...	...
Annals (1904) sold	...	...	...	<i>Miscellaneous</i>—	...	...	...
Advertisements	...	...	...	Furniture for Office	...	...	...
Credited by the Bank	...	...	...	Stationery	...	...	...
Received for Lantern Slides, as per contra	...	...	...	Clerical Assistance	...	...	...
Printing—Amount in suspense recovered	...	...	...	Lantern Slides	...	...	...
				Sundries	...	...	...
				Commission to Bank	...	...	...
				Postages	...	...	...
				Use of Botanical Theatre, University College
				
				Balance at Bank
				Cash in hands of Hon. Secretary

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We hereby certify that we have examined these accounts with the Books and Vouchers, and find the same to be correct.

7th June, 1905.

PHILIP MORDANT, Chartered Accountant.

A P P E N D I X (A).

DONATIONS.

			£	s.	d.
Messrs. N. M. Rothschild & Sons	...	...	50	0	0
Mr. Max Langermann	...	...	25	0	0
Mr. Samuel Marks	...	...	10	0	0
Mr. B. L. Cohen, M.P.	...	...	5	5	0
Mr. Israel Davis	...	...	5	5	0
Sir Alfred Harmsworth, Bart.	...	...	5	5	0
Mr. Lionel Phillips	...	...	5	5	0
Mr. Frederic S. Franklin	...	...	5	0	0
The Jewish Study Society	...	...	5	0	0
Mr. Arthur D. Sassoon	...	...	5	0	0
Sir Edward Sassoon, Bart., M.P.	...	...	5	0	0
Sir Edward Stern	...	...	5	0	0
Hon. Harry Lawson, M.P.	...	...	3	3	0
Mr. Benjamin Newgass	...	...	3	3	0
Jewish Historical Society (for Lantern Lectures)	...	...	3	0	0
Anonymous	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. Ellis A. Franklin	...	...	2	2	0
Sir Otto Jaffé	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. S. Japhet	...	...	2	2	0
Captain H. M. Jessel, M.P.	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. N. S. Joseph	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. H. Landau	...	...	2	2	0
Messrs. Lazarus & Rosenfeld	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. Henry Lucas	...	...	2	2	0
The late Mr. F. D. Mocatta	...	...	2	2	0
(Per) Mr. M. Myers, for Lantern Fund	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. Samuel Samuel (annually)	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. R. Sebag-Montefiore	...	...	2	2	0

DONATIONS (continued).

					£	s.	d.
Mr. I. Seligman	...	..	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. M. H. Spielmann	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
Mr. A. Tuck	...	...	...	...	2	2	0
A Friend	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
M. C. Brighton	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Hon. E. R. Belilios, C.M.G.	...	..	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. B. Birnbaum	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. H. L. Bischoffsheim	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. Charles Davis	...	...	...	..	1	1	0
Mr. A. E. Franklin	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. E. L. Franklin	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. M. A. Green	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Sir Israel Hart	...	...	...	..	1	1	0
Mr. B. Heilbronn	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. W. Klingenstein	...	..	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. F. I. Lyons	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Sebag-Montefiore	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. M. A. Spielmann (annually)	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
Mr. Aug. Stern	...	...	..	...	1	1	0
Baron de Worms	...	...	..	...	1	1	0
Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart.	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mr. H. Bentwich	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Mr. Delissa Joseph	0	10	6
Mr. M. Myers	0	10	6
Mr. James H. Solomon	0	10	6
Mr. B. Kisch	0	10	0
					<hr/> <hr/>		
					£195	7	0
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(In 1904, £30 5s.).

APPENDIX (B).

SUBSCRIPTIONS OF CONSTITUENT SOCIETIES.

	£	s.	d.
Birmingham Jewish Young Men's Association ...	2	2	0
Brady Street Jewish Boys' Club (for 1904) ...	0	2	6
Brady Street Jewish Boys' Club (for 1905) ...	0	2	6
Bristol Jewish Social and Literary Society ...	0	13	4
Butler Street Girls' Club ...	0	2	6
Central Jewish Literary Society ...	1	3	4
City Jewish Social and Literary Society ...	1	1	0
Dublin Jewish Literary and Social Club ...	1	1	0
Hammersmith Jewish Literary Society ...	1	0	0
Hampstead and St. John's Wood Jewish Literary Society ...	5	0	0
Jews' College Literary Society ...	1	0	0
Jewish Historical Society of England ...	5	0	0
Jewish Study Society ...	0	10	0
Leeds Jewish Young Men's Association ...	2	2	0
Manchester Jewish Literary and Social Union ...	2	2	0
Manchester Jewish Working Men's Club... ..	2	2	0
Merthyr Tydvil and District Jewish Literary Society	0	16	8
Newport (Mon.) Jewish Literary and Social Institute	0	14	4
North London Jewish Literary Union ...	5	10	0
Nottingham Jewish Literary Society ...	0	13	0
Park Place Synagogue Association (Manchester) ...	2	12	0
South Essex Jewish Social and Literary Union ...	1	10	4
South Hackney Jewish Social & Literary Union (1904)	1	10	0
Stepney Jewish Lads' Club ...	0	2	6
Students' Jewish Literary and Debating Society ...	0	17	6
Swansea Jewish Literary Society ...	0	14	8
Sydney Jewish Literary Society... ..	1	0	0
Tredegar Jewish Literary Society (1904) ...	0	10	6
Tredegar Jewish Literary Society (1905) ...	0	10	6
Tredegar Jewish Literary Society (1905) ...	0	6	0
West Central Jewish Girls' Club ...	0	2	6
West End Jewish Literary Society ...	1	0	0

£43 14 8

(In 1904 £53 11 4 from 38 Societies.)

THE
JEWISH LITERARY ANNUAL,
1903.

CONTENTS.

JEHUDA HALEVI. By ISRAEL COHEN.

THE JEWISH SCHOOL CHILD. By A. EICHHOLZ, M.D.

**THE JEWISH CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE IN
THE MIDDLE AGES.** By H. HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D.

JEWISH SURNAMES. By ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

MODERN JUDAISM IN RELATION TO THE STATE. By
LAURIE MAGNUS, M.A.

**THE POSITION OF JUDAISM IN THE CONFLICT BE-
TWEEN RELIGION AND MODERN SCIENCE.** By J.
SNOWMAN, M.D.

**THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNION AND ITS CON-
STITUENT SOCIETIES DURING YEAR 1902-3.**

*Copies of the Annual, price 1s. (by post 1s. 3d.), can be obtained
from the Secretary of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, 127,
Middlesex Street, Aldgate, London, E.*

Copies of the following Publications of the Union can still be obtained,
price 3d. each.

**II.—THE UNION OF JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETIES OF
GERMANY.** By Dr. GUSTAV KARPELES.

**III.—SUGGESTIONS FOR LECTURES ON SUBJECTS OF JEWISH
INTEREST.**

V.—PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. Delivered by Mr. OSCAR SELINGER.

.. JEWISH HOUSE. ..

Perse School, Cambridge.

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I. H. HERSCH, M.A.,

FOURTEENTH WRANGLER.

Late Scholar of Caius College; Assistant Examiner in Mathematics in the University of London, and Assistant Master in the Perse School.

Preparatory Department for boys of 6 to 8; Upper School for boys of 8 to 10.

Prospectus on application to Mr. Hersch.

THE JEWISH LITERARY ANNUAL, 1904.

CONTENTS.

LITERATURE AND RACE. By Prof. ISRAEL GOLLANCZ
President of the Union.

JEWISH LITERATURE AND THE DIASPORA. By ELKAN
N. ADLER, M.A.

LITERATURE IN THE GHETTO. By ISRAEL COHEN, B.A.

THE TOWN AND ITS INTERPRETER. By S. WALLACH.

PIONEERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH EMANCI-
PATION IN GERMANY. By the Rev. A. WOLF, M.A.,
D.LITT.

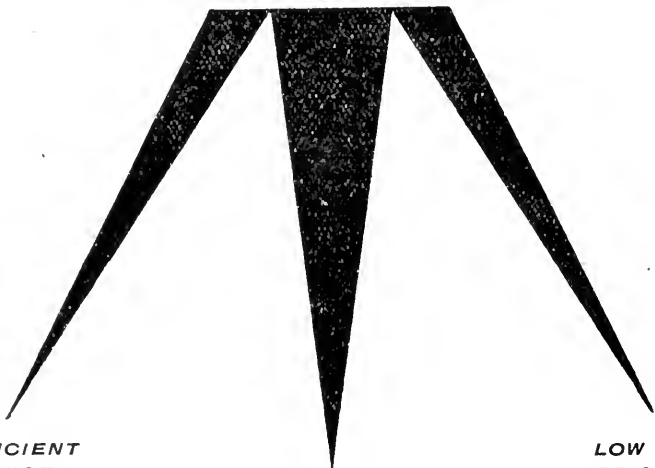
CROMWELL'S JEWISH INTELLIGENCERS. By LUCIEN
WOLF.

A Bibliography of all books and articles on subjects of Jewish interest published in the English language during the past year, compiled by ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

Copies of the Annual, price 1s. (by post, 1s. 3d.), can be obtained from the Secretary of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, 127 Middlesex Street, Aldgate, London, E.

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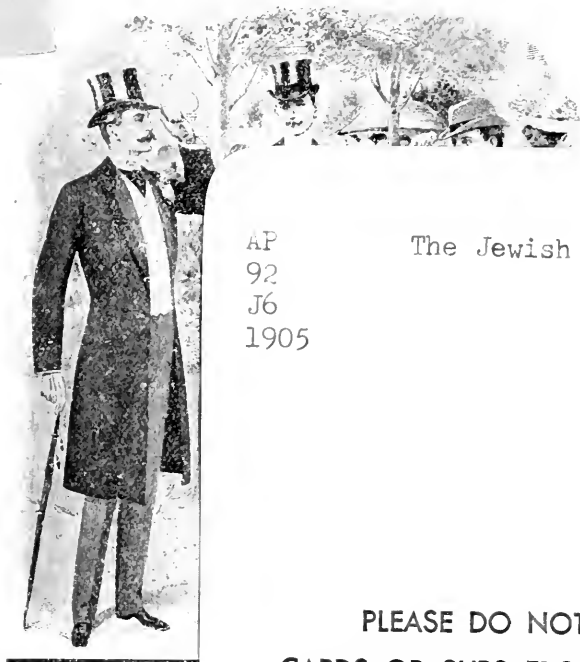
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The Jewish literary annual

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